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GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT :—
A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.
DEAN OF ELY

THE BOOKS OF
CHRONICLES

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THE BOOKS OF
CHRONICLES

With Maps, Notes and Introduction

by

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PREFACE

BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

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STAND YE STILL AND SEE THE SALVATION OF THE LORD WITH YOU, O JUDAH AND JERUSALEM.

2 Chr. xx. 17.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE author desires to acknowledge with gratitude his indebtedness to Mr S. A. Cook for his kindness in reading the first proofs and in making many most valuable suggestions and criticisms, and to the General Editor of the Series, the Dean of Ely, for his very helpful revision of the proofs. His obligation to Professor W. E. Barnes is referred to on p. lx.

W. A. L. E.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Characteristics of Ancient Historical Writings

Until recent times the study of the historical records of Israel and of other nations of antiquity has suffered from insufficient recognition of the principles and procedure of ancient historians. It is obvious that a great contrast exists between any modern historical work and those books of the Old Testament which relate the fortunes of Israel; and unless there is a clear perception of the main facts to which this contrast is due, the nature and value of the Books of Chronicles cannot readily be understood and certainly will not be properly appreciated. It is desirable therefore to deal with this matter at the outset, before proceeding to consider the special characteristics of Chronicles.

(1) *Standpoint.* According to the modern point of view, a perfect history would seem to be a complete and impartial statement of events. This ideal is unattainable, for even the fullest account must fall far short of the richness of actual life. Moreover, it is imperative that the trivial be distinguished from the important, and the facts be presented according to their relative values. A historian is therefore necessary to arrange the material so that the events are seen in their proper relationship. Thereby, however, a subjective element is introduced into our histories. Life is so complex that two men considering the same facts may reach very different conclusions concerning them. We cannot wholly escape this danger, but we do claim

that the historian shall consciously seek to present the truth and nothing but the truth. He must not deliberately suppress or distort facts to favour (say) the Protestant or the Roman Catholic view of the Reformation. A modern historian may be convinced that sin leads to disaster, but he must not therefore write that a certain wicked monarch perished dethroned and in misery, if he knows that he died peacefully in his royal bed. If he wishes to enforce the doctrine that "the wages of sin is death," either he may turn to history and select incidents which support that view, or he may invent characters and weave them into a tale which points his moral, or he may discuss the belief generally; but he ought not to publish as serious history a work in which, irrespective of facts, every wicked king is punished or involves his land in ruin. We should count such a work an illegitimate use of historical material, unless the author gave some clear indication of its real nature. We draw a sharp distinction between history and fiction, and in the serious historian we demand fidelity to the truth as he sees it.

This modern standpoint is in reality the outcome of that more scientific habit of mind which insists above all things on accurate observation of phenomena and on the subordination of theory to fact. But the duty of scientific thinking has not so very long been recognised by the human mind, and in former days many things were legitimate and natural which would not be so now. The moment we make allowance for our mental environment, we can conceive that there might be other ideas than our own as to what constitutes the use and abuse of historical records. To us the facts are primary, and the lessons they seem to teach must be accepted, whether they suit our wishes or not. But an ancient writer was not dominated by that maxim. Supposing he desired to teach that "Virtue is rewarded," he *might* consider that an excellent way of enforcing his theory was not only to use the narratives of the past, but to mould and modify them as best suited his object. History might be made the tool of his conviction, and the tool be shaped to assist his purpose. If it is hard for us to realise

that such a procedure was legitimate *for him*, that is simply due to the difficulty we have in being anything except the children of our own age.

The earliest historical records of Israel were not attempts to write a continuous history of the people, but popular tales and songs commemorating such deeds of the people or its heroes as had made a profound impression on the popular imagination. An excellent example is the famous Song of Deborah in Judges v. Records of this type were long transmitted orally, but eventually were gathered together into written collections, such as the Book of Jashar, referred to by the canonical writers (see Jos. x. 13, 2 Sam. i. 18). As national history lengthened out and State records accumulated in connection with palace and temple, the idea would finally arise of combining these with the popular memories so as to form a connected historical narrative. But the motive which prompted the formation of such accounts was not scientific interest nor even perhaps curiosity to ascertain the exact course of events, but the desire to interest, to instruct, and above all to edify contemporary thought and life. Broadly, we may distinguish two types of ancient historical writing; first, the *descriptive* narrative in which events were recorded on account of their intense human interest, and, secondly, the *didactic*, where the older descriptive tales and any other available material were selected, related, and built into a unity in such fashion as might best serve to bring out the religious, moral, or political lessons which they seem to teach or which the writer was anxious to impress upon his generation. The books of Samuel-Kings and of Chronicles both belong to the didactic type[1]. Thus, they contain many stories (e.g. the *details* of Jehu's revolution in Kings) which teach no special lesson but are recorded for their

[1] That *both* Sam.-Kings and Chron. can be classed as didactic does not imply that they do not differ greatly in character: the former books are "prophetic" and national, relating God's dealings with the nation as a whole, whilst Chronicles gives an essentially priestly and ecclesiastical view of the history.

intrinsic interest; and also much annalistic record of fact. But this material has been welded together by a writer or writers who were supremely interested in the religious condition of their people, who believed that the character and purpose of God were manifest in the vicissitudes of their national history, and who desired to make the ethical and spiritual import of that history clear to their fellow-men. Hence in their present form their works are not scientific records but rather what may be termed "history with a motive." For instance, the space given to the tales about Elisha the prophet compared with the brief allusion to Omri King of Israel is entirely disproportionate to their respective values in the *political* sphere. The books of Samuel and Kings are practical and powerful appeals to history in the interests of religious faith. The same is true of Chronicles, and to an even greater degree, because Chronicles belongs to a later period than Samuel-Kings (see § 3), when the religious convictions of Israel were felt with extraordinary intensity, and could be expressed in accordance with certain precise theological beliefs.

(2) *Method: the treatment of "sources."* It is of no less importance to realise something of the difference of method between ancient and modern historians, particularly as regards their treatment of "sources."

For all that lies beyond his personal experience the historian is, of course, dependent on sources, documentary or otherwise. The modern writer recognises the duty of testing and verifying the accuracy of the sources he uses for his narrative, and in producing his own account of affairs he is expected, where desirable, to state the sources upon which he has relied. The ancient historian also made use of sources, but (1) he used them uncritically, with little or no anxiety concerning their accuracy, and (2) it was his custom simply to select from the available material any passages, long or short, even words or phrases, which served his purpose, and to incorporate these in his work, frequently without any indication of the borrowing. Only in certain instances was the source precisely referred to. Moreover

(3) the utmost freedom was exercised in dealing with the passages thus chosen. Sometimes they were reproduced word for word; at other times they were partially or wholly transformed to suit the new context. This may seem an unwarrantable procedure to us, but one has only to examine the actual instances of these adaptations or transformations of unnamed sources to perceive that the ancient[1] writer has acted in perfect good faith, with no suspicion that the manipulation was in any way blameworthy. How indeed could it have been otherwise? The science of literary criticism was unknown, "notions of literary propriety and plagiarism had not been thought of, and writers who advanced no pretensions to originality for themselves were guilty of no imposture when they borrowed without acknowledgement from their predecessors" (Skinner, *Kings*, p. 7).

For us there is both gain and loss in these methods of the ancient writers. (*a*) Loss—because the continual adaptation of old tradition has sometimes produced changes so great that it is difficult or even impossible to discover now what was the actual course of events. By the exercise of care and by the diligent application of the principles of literary research the loss thus occasioned can be greatly diminished, particularly where different accounts of the same period have survived—e.g. in the parallel history of Judah in Samuel-Kings and in Chronicles. Not only do the two versions facilitate the task of recovering the actual history, but each version throws light upon the origin and nature of the other. (*b*) On the other hand, the practice of incorporating passages of older narratives in the text is a great gain. It is, of course, unfortunate that the writers did not more carefully indicate the various sources they happened to be using; but constantly—thanks to idiosyncrasies of style,

[1] Nor need one go back to antiquity for an instance. Most instructive examples of composite narrative compiled uncritically but quite innocently by mediaeval chroniclers from earlier sources may be found in Chapman's *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (in this series), pp. 260 ff. Cp. also an illustration from Arabic historical writings given by A. A. Bevan in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 12 ff.

language, and thought—we are able to analyse the composite whole into its component parts. From the study of the separate sources thus revealed we gain invaluable information which would have been lost to us had the later writer (or rather, compiler and editor) given his version of the history entirely in his own words.

(3) *The absence of the idea of Development.* One other feature of the ancient writers, at least of the chroniclers of Israel, is of singular interest, and deserves special attention: it might be described as a feature of their temperament or of their mental environment. The idea of *growth* has become familiar to us, and we recognise that there has been a process of development in our religious and social institutions. We are content to trace the seeds of the present in the past. But the feeling of antiquity was apparently different. In Israel, at least, there was a tendency to suppose that the cherished system and organisations of the present had sprung into existence, as it were, *full-grown* at some great moment of the past. For example, by the Chronicler's time, the whole body of law and ritual embodied in the final form of the Pentateuch had come to be ascribed in its entirety to Moses, whereas historical and literary evidence demonstrates beyond all question that the system of Jewish worship and law was a gradual growth of which the stages can be traced with considerable clearness. Similarly, many features in the organisation of the Temple ministrants—the Priests, Levites, etc.—came into existence only in post-exilic days; but the whole system as it appeared in the Chronicler's time was believed by him, and doubtless also by his contemporaries, to have originated with King David. Indeed, it is very probable that the ancients felt it so natural and so necessary to justify important customs and institutions by giving them the sanction of an ancient and honourable origin, that occasionally the very ideals of the present were represented as facts of the past. The converse of this tendency was also in force. As the present sought the support of the authority of the past, so the past could only continue to be

deemed important provided it conformed to some extent with the beliefs and ideals of the present. Ideas change and expand. Thus it was quite impossible in the Chronicler's time to represent the age of David and Solomon as great and glorious unless the moderate figures given in Kings were altered to correspond with the ideas of men accustomed to think of the mighty armies of the Persian monarchs or of Alexander the Great. As Kuenen says, "In ancient times, and specifically in Israel, the sense of historic continuity could only be preserved by the constant compliance on the part of the past with the requirements of the present, that is to say by the constant renovation and transformation of the past. This may be called the Law of religious historiography" (*The Modern Review*, vol. i. [1880], p. 705).

One consequence of the first importance follows from this fact. An ancient historical writing often records unconsciously far more than the history of the period it purports to describe. Since much in it which is ascribed to a past age in reality reflects the conditions of the present, it follows that the work *as a whole* may be an invaluable commentary on the author's own period. By taking into account this law of religious historiography, by studying the writer's method of compilation, his use and manipulation of sources and the additions he has himself made to the story, we shall find in the completed book a mirror of the thoughts, the ideals, and the conditions of the age when it was produced.

Justification for these remarks can be drawn not only from the writings of the Old Testament but also from the study of ancient literature in general. Nowhere, however, are the principles and characteristics which we have outlined more clearly exemplified than in the books of Chronicles. They are the key to the comprehension of Chronicles; and, if they are borne in mind, what is generally considered a somewhat dull book of the Bible will be seen to be one of the most instructive pieces of ancient literature. At the same time, we shall be in a position to perceive and appreciate the religious enthusiasm which animated the Chronicler.

§ 2. Relation to Ezra and Nehemiah

It is well known that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally one book; but further it is certain that Chronicles has been artificially separated from them, and that the three books, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, were once a continuous work. The reasons upon which this conclusion is based are as follows:

(1) The ending of Chronicles and the beginning of Ezra are the same (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 f. = Ezra i. 1—3*a*), i.e. after the separation was made between Chron. and Ezra-Nehemiah the opening verses of Ezra (recording the proclamation of Cyrus permitting the Jews to return) were retained, or perhaps one should say, were added by someone who was aware of the original continuity of Chron. with Ezra-Nehemiah and who was anxious that Chron. should end in a hopeful strain (see note on 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23). The desirability of securing a hopeful conclusion is much more obvious in the Hebrew than in the English Bible, for, whereas in the English order Ezra immediately follows Chronicles, in the Hebrew Canon Ezra and Nehemiah are made to precede Chronicles, and Chronicles is actually the *last* book of the Hebrew Bible. (On the reason for this order in the Hebrew, and generally on the separation of Chronicles from Ezra-Nehemiah, see § 9, *Position in the Canon*, ad fin.)

(2) The same general standpoint and the same special interests are found both in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah to a remarkable degree. In particular, attention may be called to the following points:

(*a*) The same fondness for lists and genealogies is shown in both works; cp. e.g. 1 Chr. xii. with Ezra ii. *or* Neh. iii.; and 2 Chr. xxxi. 16—19 with Neh. vii. 63—65.

(*b*) The same intense interest in religious festivals and institutions; cp. 1 Chr. xv., xvi.; 2 Chr. v.—vii., xxix., xxx., xxxv. 1—19, with Ezra iii., vi. 16—22; Neh. viii.

(*c*) Three classes of Temple attendants, viz. Levites, singers, and porters, which are barely mentioned in the rest of the Old Testament, receive a great deal of notice both in Chronicles and in Ezra-Nehemiah.

(3) The same style and diction are found in both works (excepting of course in such sentences and passages as are transcribed from older sources). Characteristic phrases are the following:

(*a*) "Fathers' houses"; cp. 1 Chr. vii. 2, note.

(*b*) "The house of God," very frequently in Chron.-Ezra-Neh. in place of the usual "house of the LORD" (Jehovah). With this cp. the avoidance of the use of the name Jehovah (Jahveh) in such places as 2 Chr. xvii. 4 (cp. A.V. with R.V.), xx. 12, 30; Ezra viii. 18, 21.

(*c*) "genealogy" ("reckon by genealogy"); cp. 1 Chr. v. 17, note; Ezra ii. 62.

(*d*) "to oversee"; 1 Chr. xxiii. 4; 2 Chr. ii. 2 [ii. 1 Heb.]; Ezra iii. 8 (R.V. "to have the oversight").

(*e*) "willingly offer"; 1 Chr. xxix. 14; Ezra i. 6.

These are merely a few instances out of very many which might be given. This similarity of style and language is far more striking in the Hebrew (cp. § 3, C, and for full particulars the long list in Curtis, *Chronicles*, pp. 27 ff.).

When fully stated, the evidence indicated under (2) and (3) above is of a convincing character, and the conclusion that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah were at one time a single work should be unhesitatingly adopted.

§ 3. Date and Authorship

(1) *Date and Unity.* The scope of our inquiry in this section requires to be defined with some care. In dealing with any work which is chiefly a compilation of older material, it is necessary clearly to distinguish between the dates of the various sources which can be recognised or surmised and the dates of the writer or writers who have effected the compilation. When we examine the structure of Chronicles its composite nature is at once evident. Many long and important passages have been taken, with or without adaptation, directly from the existing books of Scripture. The date of all such passages, of course, falls to be considered in the commentaries on Samuel

or Kings or wherever their original setting may be. The remainder of Chronicles presents an intricate but interesting problem. It has been held that there are no sources involved in this remaining portion but that the whole is the free composition of the writer who quoted or adapted the passages from earlier books of Scripture referred to above. According to the view taken in this volume, sources other than these "canonical" books were utilised in the formation of Chronicles, although for reasons suggested in § 5 (q.v., pp. xxxvi f.) such sources are not easy to distinguish from the work of the compiler himself. The little which can be said regarding the origin and history of these supposed sources may conveniently be reserved for the section dealing with the *Sources* (§ 5). The question, therefore, which is before us in this section is the date of the editorial process to which we owe the present form of Chronicles. Fortunately the answer is simplified by one important fact, namely the remarkable homogeneity of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. To such a degree are these books characterised by unity of style, vocabulary, standpoint and purpose (see below ; also § 2 and § 6), that we may safely conclude they are essentially the product of one mind : they have reached *substantially* their present form in the course of a single editorial process. Conceivably the work was achieved by a small body of Levites (see below under *Authorship*), contemporaries, sharing the same training and outlook ; but it is much more reasonable to infer the activity of a single writer—the *Chronicler*. It is his date which we proceed to consider. The evidence may be grouped under three heads, of which the last two (B, C) are of chief importance.

(A) (1) In 1 Chr. xxix. 7 a sum of money is reckoned in *darics*, a Persian coinage introduced by Darius I (521—486 B.C.).

(2) In 1 Chr. iii. 19*b*—24 (see note *ad loc.*) according to the Hebrew the line of David's family is traced to the sixth generation after Zerubbabel (*circa* 520 B.C.). Hence, reckoning a generation as about 20 to 30 years, this passage would indicate a date not earlier than 400 B.C. or 340 B.C. The Greek, Syriac,

and Latin Versions, however, differ from the Hebrew by extending the line to the *eleventh* generation after Zerubbabel. That would imply a date possibly as late as 200 B.C. and not earlier than about 300 B.C., but it is very doubtful whether we can here rely upon the text of these Versions, and obviously it was easy for a translator or scribe to carry the list on to his own date. This piece of evidence, therefore, for the later date cannot be pressed, although it is worthy of notice.

Since, as we have said (§ 2), Ezra-Nehemiah formed originally one book with Chronicles, evidence for the date of Chronicles is also furnished by any indications of date which occur in Ezra-Nehemiah.

(3) In Neh. xii. 22 we find the significant phrase "to the reign of Darius, the *Persian*." Now as long as the Persian empire stood such a description would have no point when written by a Jewish writer. For two hundred years down to 332 B.C., when Syria and Phoenicia fell into the hands of Alexander the Great, the rulers of Judea were all "Persians." But from 332 B.C. onward Greek monarchs were the rulers of Palestine, and nothing is more natural than that a Jewish chronicler writing under their rule should refer to a king of the older régime as "the Persian."

(4) Further, in Neh. xii. 26, 47 the phrase "in the days of Nehemiah" occurs, implying that for the writer Nehemiah belonged to the past, but, as one cannot say how near or how distant a past, the point carries little weight.

(5) Again, in Neh. xii. 10, 11 and 22, 23, a list of high-priests is given, concluding with the name of Jaddua, whom the Chronicler evidently (and correctly, cp. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 7, 8) knew to have been the high-priest about 332 B.C., at the end of the reign of Darius (Darius III, Codomannus), when the Persian Empire collapsed before the attack of Alexander the Great.

These details, indicative of the date of composition, are as numerous as we have any right to expect in a work of the nature of Chronicles, which deals with past history. Their

evidential value can of course be criticised by supposing that the passages in question are late interpolations and have therefore no bearing on the date of the main body of the work. But no solid grounds are adduced for this objection, and the burden of proof lies upon the objector. The supposition is extremely improbable, and may be dismissed in view of the fact that (B) the general character, and (C) the linguistic peculiarities of Chronicles alike demand a date considerably later than the period of Ezra-Nehemiah.

(B) The character of Chronicles has already been referred to, but in a different connection (§ 2, pp. xvi f.). Here the point to notice is that *throughout the entire work* the whole system of law and ritual found in the Pentateuch is presupposed as existing in its final form. This system, which may conveniently be described as Priestly (P) in distinction from the earlier system to which the name Deuteronomic (D) is applied, and the still earlier standpoint represented by the Jahvistic and Elohistic writers (J and E), may have been of slow growth, and no doubt embodies features of law and ritual which are of relatively high antiquity. But there is overwhelming evidence to prove that, as an organised and completed *system*, it cannot be dated earlier than the period of Nehemiah (*c.* 425 B.C.). Now in Chronicles not only is this final code in force; it has evidently been so long and so firmly established that the Chronicler did not know, or at least did not believe, that any other earlier system had once ruled the practice of Israel. He belonged to a period when the development of the Pentateuch was no more remembered, and when its origin—in all completeness—had come to be ascribed with absolute confidence to the remote past, in accordance with that religious instinct which we have described above on p. xiv. Manifestly, a considerable lapse of time after Nehemiah's period must be allowed for that conviction to have become established.

Another consideration is found in the attitude of the Chronicler towards the kingdom of Israel. For the apostate Northern Kingdom the Chronicler has only contempt and hatred and displays no interest whatever in its fortunes, except that he

takes pains occasionally to indicate the corruption of the North, thus emphasising by contrast the virtue of the Judeans. His absorption in the affairs of Jerusalem and his bitter antagonism to the North in all likelihood reflect the anger felt by the post-exilic Jews of Jerusalem against the Samaritans after the famous schism between the two communities. Indeed it is possible, § 6 (1), that his work was directly inspired by the necessity of combating the religious pretensions of the Samaritans with their Temple on Mt Gerizim, rivalling Jerusalem. The Samaritan schism is generally supposed to date from 432 B.C., but there are grounds for thinking that it was not so early, and *possibly* the Temple on Mt Gerizim may have been built, not in 432, but in 332 B.C. If the later date be correct, we have strong evidence for dating Chronicles not earlier than the last half of the fourth century B.C.

(C) The late date of Chronicles is finally put beyond all doubt by the linguistic peculiarities of the book. Excluding, of course, the passages drawn from earlier Scriptures, the Hebrew of Chronicles is of such a character that it is impossible to assign anything but a late post-exilic date for its composition. In every aspect of language—grammar and syntax and vocabulary—the diction exhibits the unmistakable characteristics of late Hebrew. It lies beyond the scope of the present volume to give details of the Hebrew, and reference may be made to the edition of Chronicles by Curtis and Madsen (*International Critical Commentary*), pp. 27 ff., where a list of 136 such peculiarities is given.

The *style* of Chronicles is disappointing. The Chronicler had some praiseworthy qualities as a narrator: he displays force and imagination in the treatment of the material, he knew how to add a graphic touch, and he was able to revise a story thoroughly while preserving its internal coherence (e.g. 1 Chr. xxi.). But he had not the gift of choice language. In so late a work we could not hope to find the strength and purity which characterised Hebrew prose of the "golden age." It must, however, be confessed that, judged even by the

standard of its own age, the Hebrew of Chronicles is clumsy and displeasing in many ways.

From this cumulative evidence we infer that the Chronicler was certainly a post-exilic writer later than the period of Ezra-Nehemiah and in all probability not earlier than about 300—250 B.C. This is a valuable and definite conclusion, but it is important to observe that it does not fully answer the problem of the date of the *present form* of Chronicles. It remains to ask whether the text as it has reached us (the Masoretic Hebrew) is precisely the text which left the Chronicler's hands, and, if not, what changes have been introduced. It is safe to say that the Hebrew text has been almost unchanged since about 150 A.D., but between that date and the time of the Chronicler is a long and sometimes stormy period. The subject, though in many ways important, is too intricate to be discussed here at length: a few remarks must suffice. (1) Like all other books of the O.T., Chronicles has suffered from the usual accidents of scribal errors in the course of transmission; but the changes due to this cause, being unintentional, are as a rule unimportant and can often be detected and corrected (see § 10, *Text*). (2) More serious are alterations made by revisers or scribes who were anxious to bring the narrative of Chronicles into conformity with that of Samuel and Kings. In the last two chapters of 2 Chron. the Heb. text can be compared with an *old* Greek Version (1 Esdras—see § 10, *Greek Versions*), and the comparison indicates that changes of text (see notes on 2 Chr. xxxv. 8, 15) and a harmonisation of Chron. with Kings (see note on 2 Chr. xxxvi. 5; cp. also ver. 15) have occurred in that brief section.

Except in these two chapters the old Greek Version has unfortunately perished, and for all the rest of Chronicles comparison can only be made with a much later Greek Version, which is a translation of a Hebrew text almost identical with the present, Masoretic, form. Even so, differences are found, notably a substantial passage deleted from the Hebrew in 2 Chr. xxxv. 19 (where see note). It is a legitimate conjecture

that, if the *old* Greek Version were extant throughout Chronicles, considerable variations between the earlier and the present text might be disclosed. (3) Finally, internal evidence suggests that a few passages are of a secondary character; i.e. interpolations by a writer later than the Chronicler: such perhaps are 1 Chr. vi. 50—53; viii. 29—38; xxiv. 20—31; 2 Chr. xv. 16—19 (see note ver. 17); xx. 33 (see note xvii. 6); xxxi. 17—19.

Interpolations on a large scale are not likely to have been made. Yet it must be borne in mind that Chron.-Ezra-Neh. were once a continuous work, and study of Ezra-Nehemiah shows that those writings have undergone a complex literary process, involving serious omissions and transpositions. This heightens the possibility that Chronicles also, before or after its separation from Ezra-Nehemiah, was treated with freedom. Thus "the recurrence of 1 Chr. ix., Neh. xi. [both giving a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem] in a single work hardly looks like an original feature; like the more remarkable repetition of Ezra ii., Neh. vii., the feature seems to point to the combination of sources which were primarily distinct" (Cook, 1 *Esdras*, in Charles' *Apocrypha*, p. 19, but see note on ix. 17). On the other hand the homogeneity of style and purpose in Chronicles tells strongly against the probability of large interpolations, and it is reasonable to believe that in the present text we have *substantially* the work produced by the Chronicler.

(II) *Authorship.* Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah contain no hint whatsoever of the name of their author, and external evidence fails us equally. From the contents and tone of the work we can infer with comparative certainty that he belonged to the Levitical order, and in all probability was a member of one of the Levitical guilds of musicians and singers (see, e.g. 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12, note). His character and conceptions can also be discerned from the nature of his work. That he was a man of strong intellect and vivid imagination is shown by his qualities as a narrator (see p. xxi) and by the consistency and power with which the whole work has been designed and carried through (see below, §§ 5, 6, 8). Beyond this it is futile to conjecture.

§ 4. Contents

The books of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah give a history of Israel and its ancestors from Adam down to the conclusion of Nehemiah's activity on behalf of the post-exilic community in Jerusalem, *c.* 432 B.C. Of this history the two books of Chronicles cover the period from Adam to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.[1] Before giving a detailed analysis, it may be of advantage to call attention to certain outstanding features. Remark that (1) the traditions of the period from Adam to Saul's death have been compressed into a series of genealogical lists which occupy chs. i.—ix.; (2) the rest of the two books gives an account of the history of *Judah* from the death of Saul down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586, the fortunes of North Israel being ignored, except for some scornful allusions to its degeneracy in comparison with Judah and Jerusalem; (3) the keenest interest is displayed by the writer in all matters connected with the Levites, the Temple, and its worship, so that an extraordinary amount of space is allotted to those subjects—note esp. 1 Chr. vi., xxii.—xxix.; 2 Chr. iii.—vii., xxix.—xxxi., xxxiv. 8—xxxv. 19.

The following Table gives a general survey of the contents of 1 and 2 Chronicles[2].

(A) 1 Chr. i.—ix. Introductory Genealogies.

i. 1—4 (cp. Gen. v. 3—32). Genealogy from Adam to the sons of Noah.
5—23 (=Gen. x. 2—29). The descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem.
24—28. Genealogy from Shem to Ishmael.

[1] Actually Chron. concludes with the first three verses of Ezra i., which relate the famous edict of Cyrus, permitting the Jews to return to Jerusalem: see § 2 (1).

[2] The sign "=" in the Table means that the passage in Chron. is a transcription, with little or no change, of the passage given in brackets; the sign "cp." is used where the account in Chron. differs considerably from or has only a faint connection with that of the passage in brackets.

i 29—31 (=Gen. xxv. 12—16). Ishmaelite descendants of Abraham.
32, 33 (=Gen. xxv. 1—4). Arabian descendants of Abraham.
34—37 (cp. Gen. xxxvi. 10—14). Edomite descendants of Abraham.
38—42 (cp. Gen. xxxvi. 20—28). Genealogy of the Horite inhabitants of Seir.
43—51*a* (cp. Gen. xxxvi. 31—39). The early kings of Edom.
51*b*—54 (cp. Gen. xxxvi. 40—43). The "dukes" of Edom.
ii. 1, 2 (cp. Gen. xxxv. 22*b*—26). The sons of Israel.
ii. 3—iv. 23. Genealogies of the tribe of Judah:
ii. 3—17. Descent of the sons of Jesse.
18—55. Caleb. Jerahmeel. Caleb.
iii. 1—9 (=2 Sam. iii. 2—5; v. 14—16). David's sons.
10—24. The Davidic Line before and after the Captivity.
iv. 1—23. Additional genealogies of Judah.
iv. 24—v. 26. Genealogies of Simeon, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh.
vi. 1—81. The tribe of Levi.
1—3. Genealogy from Levi to Eleazar.
4—15. The line of the high-priests to the Captivity.
16—30. The three clans of the Levites.
31—47. The singers.
48—53. Distinction between the sons of Aaron and the rest of the Levites.
54—81. The cities of the Levites.
vii. 1—40. Genealogies of Issachar, Zebulun (see note on vii. 6), Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, and Asher.
viii. 1—40. Genealogies of Benjamin.
1—28. Various Benjamite families.
29—40 (cp. ix. 35—44). The genealogy of the house of Saul.
ix. 1—17. The heads of the families of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, which dwelt in Jerusalem.
18—34. The duties of porters and Levites.
35—44. (=viii. 29—38). The genealogy of the house of Saul.

(B) x.—xxix. DAVID.

x. 1—14 (=1 Sam. xxxi. 1—13). The death of Saul at the battle of Gilboa.
xi. 1—9 (=2 Sam. v. 1—10). Coronation of David and capture of Jebus.
10—47 (cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39). David's mighty men.
xii. 1—40. David's adherents who brought him to the kingdom.
xiii. 1—14 (=2 Sam. vi. 1—11). The removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim. Death of Uzza.

xiv. 1—7 (cp. 2 Sam. v. 11—16). David's sons born in Jerusalem.
8—17 (=2 Sam. v. 17—25). Two Philistine attacks repulsed.
xv. 1—24. Preparations for bringing home the Ark.
xv. 25—xvi. 6 (cp. 2 Sam. vi. 12—20). The Ark brought into the city of David.
xvi. 7—36 (=Ps. cv. 1—15; xcvi. 1—13; cvi. 1, 47, 48). David's psalm of praise.
37—43. Arrangements for daily worship.
xvii. 1—27 (=2 Sam. vii. 1—29). Permission to build a Temple refused to David.
xviii. 1—17 (=2 Sam. viii. 1—18). David's foreign wars. His officials.
xix. 1—xx. 8 (=2 Sam. x. 1—19; xi. 1; xii. 26—31; xxi. 18—22). Wars with Ammon, Syria, and the Philistines.
xxi. 1—30 (=2 Sam. xxiv. 1—25). The census and the plague.
xxii. 1—xxix. 20. David's preparations for the building of the Temple and for the establishment of its services.
xxii. The choice of the Temple site. The charge to Solomon.
xxiii. The organisation of the Levites.
xxiv. The divisions ("courses") of the Priests.
xxv. The divisions of the singers.
xxvi. The divisions of the doorkeepers
xxvii. Various officers of David.
xxviii. 1—xxix. 20. David's charge to Solomon and to all Israel.
xxix. 21—30. The Epilogue: The Great Rejoicing; the Anointing of Solomon; Summary of David's reign.

(C) 2 Chr. i.—ix. SOLOMON.
i. 1—6 (cp. 1 Kin. iii. 4). Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon.
7—13 (=1 Kin. iii. 5—15). The Vision and the prayer for wisdom.
14—17 (=1 Kin. x. 26—29). Chariots and horses.
ii. 1, 2, 17, 18 (cp. 1 Kin. v. 15, 16). Bearers of burdens and hewers of wood and stone.
3—16 (cp. 1 Kin. v. 2—11). Negotiations with Huram (Hiram) king of Tyre.
iii. 1—v. 1. (cp. 1 Kin. vi. 1—vii. 50). The building and furnishing of the Temple.
v. 2—14 (=1 Kin. viii. 1—11). The bringing in of the Ark and the descent of the cloud.
vi. 1—11 (=1 Kin. viii. 12—21). Solomon's blessing.
12—42 (=1 Kin. viii. 22—50). Solomon's prayer.
vii. 1—3. The descent of the fire upon the sacrifices.
4—10 (=1 Kin. viii. 62—66). The final rejoicings.

vii. 11—22 (=1 Kin. ix. 1—9). The second Vision and the acceptance of Solomon's prayer.
viii. 1—13, 17, 18 (cp. 1 Kin. ix. 10—28). Various Acts of Solomon.
14—16. Organisation of the Priests and Levites in the Temple.
ix. 1—28 (=1 Kin. x. 1—27). The Visit of the Queen of Sheba. Solomon's greatness.
29—31 (=1 Kin. xi. 41—43). The Epilogue.

(D) 2 Chr. x.—xxxvi. THE ACTS OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

x. 1—xi. 4 (=1 Kin. xii. 1—24). The Revolt of the Ten Tribes.
xi. 5—xii. 16 (cp. 1 Kin. xiv. 21—31). The Acts of Rehoboam.
xiii. 1—22 (cp. 1 Kin. xv. 1—8). The Acts of Abijah (Abijam).
xiv. 1—xvi. 14 (cp. 1 Kin. xv. 9—24). The Acts of Asa.
xvii. 1—19. Jehoshaphat's religious measures. His captains.
xviii. 1—34 (=1 Kin. xxii. 1—37). Jehoshaphat with Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead.
xix. 1—xx. 30. Jehoshaphat's judges. His victory in the wilderness of Tekoa.
xx. 31—37 (=1 Kin. xxii. 41—49). The rest of the Acts of Jehoshaphat.
xxi. 1—20 (=1 Kin. xxii. 50; cp. 2 Kin. viii. 17—24). Jehoram.
xxii. 1—9 (=2 Kin. viii. 25—29; cp. ix. 27, 28). Ahaziah.
xxii. 10—xxiii. 21 (=2 Kin. xi. 1—20). The rise and fall of Athaliah.
xxiv. 1—14 (=2 Kin. xii. 1—16). Restoration of the Temple under Joash.
15—22. Apostasy of the princes. Assassination of the prophet Zechariah.
23—27 (cp. 2 Kin. xii. 17—21). The Syrian War and the end of Joash.
xxv. 1—13 (cp. 2 Kin. xiv. 1—7). Amaziah. The Edomite War. The Ephraimite ravages.
14—16. Apostasy of Amaziah.
17—28 (=2 Kin. xiv. 8—20). Capture of Jerusalem. Death of Amaziah.
xxvi. 1—23 (cp. 2 Kin. xv. 1—7). Uzziah (Azariah).
xxvii. 1—9 (cp. 2 Kin. xv. 32—38). Jotham.
xxviii. 1—27 (cp. 2 Kin. xvi. 1—20). Ahaz.
xxix. 1—xxxi. 21. Hezekiah. Cleansing of the Temple. The Great Passover. Care for the priesthood.
xxxii. 1—23 (cp. 2 Kin. xviii., xix.). The deliverance from Sennacherib.
24—33 (cp. 2 Kin. xx. 1—21). Hezekiah's sickness. His death.

xxxiii. 1—20 (cp. 2 Kin. xxi. 1—18). Manasseh. His captivity and repentance.
21—25 (= 2 Kin. xxi. 19—26). Amon.
xxxiv. 1—7 (cp. 2 Kin. xxii. 1, 2; xxiii. 4—20). Josiah. Removal of the emblems of idolatry.
8—28 (= 2 Kin. xxii. 3—20). Repair of the Temple. Discovery of the Book of the Law.
29—33 (= 2 Kin. xxiii. 1—3). Renewal of the Covenant.
xxxv. 1—19 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 21—23). Josiah's Great Passover.
20—27 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 28—30*a*). The death of Josiah.
xxxvi. 1—4 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 30*b*—34). Jehoahaz.
5—8 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 36—xxiv. 6). Jehoiakim.
9, 10 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 8—17). Jehoiachin.
11—21 (cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 18—xxv. 21). Zedekiah. The Captivity of Judah.
22, 23 (= Ezra i. 1—3*a*). The decree of Cyrus.

It will be seen at a glance that large portions of earlier canonical Scripture have been reproduced in Chronicles exactly or very closely: viz.

Gen. x. 2—29; xxv. 1—4, 10—16; xxxvi., *passim*.
1 Sam. xxxi.
2 Sam. v.—viii.; x.; xxiii. 8—xxiv. 25.
1 Kin. iii. 4—14; v.—vii. (in part); viii.—x.; xi. 41—xii. 24; xiv. 21—xv. 24 (in part); xxii. (in part).
2 Kin. viii. 17—29; xi., xii.; xiv. 1—22; xv., xvi. (in part); xxi.—xxiv. (in part).
Ezra i. 1—3.

As the foregoing list shows, Chronicles by no means includes all the narrative of Samuel and Kings. In particular may be noted the omission of any account of the early life of David (1 Sam. *passim*), the *Court History* of David (2 Sam. xi.—xx.), the history of Elijah and Elisha (1 Kin. xvii.—xxi.; 2 Kin. i. 1—viii. 15), and the affairs of the Northern Kingdom with a few exceptions.

On the other hand, Chronicles contains a great deal which is either independent of or not immediately dependent on earlier books of the Old Testament: note especially the opening nine chapters of genealogies, the last seven chapters of 1 Chron., and many passages, long and short, in 2 Chron. x.—xxxvi. The origin and significance of this new material will be discussed in the section on the *Sources*, § 5.

§ 5. The Sources

From what has been said in § 1 regarding the nature of ancient historical writings it will be realised that a careful examination of the material used in the compilation of Chronicles is a necessary preliminary to the task of estimating the purpose and value of the work in its final form. Only when the extent of the sources has been determined can we say whether contributions made by the writer who combined those sources into the existing work are so great or so small that we ought to reckon him in the one case a narrator whose personality must be seriously considered, or in the other a mere copyist and compiler.

(1) In considering the material of Chronicles, it is convenient to begin with those passages which seem to be copied or adapted from earlier books of the Old Testament. That such passages are numerous, and constitute a very large amount of 1 and 2 Chronicles will be seen by a glance at the table of contents given in § 4. Occasionally the Chronicler reproduced the canonical text *verbatim*, but generally he introduced alterations, which were sometimes both numerous and important. The discrepancies thus produced between Chronicles and other parts of canonical Scripture presented a grave difficulty to the older commentators, and the theory was put forward that the Chronicler used, not the canonical books, but the still older sources from which the canonical books themselves were built up and to which they frequently refer. It was hoped thus to minimise the divergences by supposing that the Chronicler had copied somewhat different portions of these old sources, and had approached them from a different standpoint. Not only was this hypothesis in the highest degree improbable, but the reconciliation it was supposed to effect is now recognised to be for the most part untenable. The theory is finally discredited by the fact that these sources of the canonical books *always* appear in Chronicles combined together in precisely the same manner in which they are found combined in the canonical

books; i.e. they appear always 'edited,' and never in their original, independent, form. It may be definitely asserted therefore that for all the passages which are common to Chronicles and other canonical works the Chronicler was indebted solely to the text of the canonical books as it appeared in his time.

As for the divergences, real and apparent, between Chronicles and other canonical Scriptures, it is now recognised that, whilst they are properly a subject for historical investigation, they do not involve a religious problem. The old "religious" difficulty is answered by a deeper comprehension of the nature of Inspiration. The real inspiration of the Scriptures does not, as was once thought, rest upon points of historical accuracy: see the article *Inspiration* by A. E. Garvie in the *Ency. Brit.*[11], vol. xiv., esp. pp. 647 *ad fin.*, 648, with the references there given.

(2) More important and difficult is the problem of the source of the *new* material in Chronicles. Nearly one-half of the two books of Chronicles is material otherwise unknown to us, and not to be regarded as mere ornamental amplification of the passages drawn from canonical sources. Rather it is precisely these new parts which give colour to the whole work, and there can be no doubt that the Chronicler must have dwelt with special fondness on just these passages. The question is, Can we discern or infer sources from which these independent chapters and paragraphs have been derived, or is the Chronicler himself their only source and origin?

In attempting to answer that question, our first task is to note and discuss a long list of works to which the Chronicler appeals, either as authorities for what he says or as sources where fuller information might (presumably) be expected. They are as follows:

A. *Those with specific prophetic titles.*

[For the reigns of David and Solomon.]

(1) The history (lit. *words*, or *acts*) of Samuel the seer (1 Chr. xxix. 29).

(2) The history of Nathan the prophet (1 Chr. xxix. 29; 2 Chr. ix. 29).

(3) The history of Gad the seer (1 Chr. xxix. 29).
(4) The last acts of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 27). [Perhaps the same as (5).]
(5) The chronicles (lit. *acts of the days*) of king David (1 Chr. xxvii. 24).
(6) The prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite (2 Chr. ix. 29).
(7) The visions of Iddo the seer (2 Chr. ix. 29).

[For the kings of Judah (excepting Jehoram, Ahaziah, Athaliah, Amon, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah).]

(8) The histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer (2 Chr. xii. 15).
(9) The commentary (lit. *Midrash*[1]) of the prophet Iddo (2 Chr. xiii. 22).
(10) The history of Jehu the son of Hanani which is inserted in the books of the kings of Israel (2 Chr. xx. 34).
(11) A writing of Isaiah the prophet (2 Chr. xxvi. 22).
(12) The vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz in the books of the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Chr. xxxii. 34).
(13) ? The history of Hozai (lit. *the seers*) (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19).
(14) ? A genealogical register compiled in the time of Jotham and Jeroboam II (1 Chr. v. 17).
(15) A collection of "lamentations" (2 Chr. xxxv. 25).

B. *Those with general titles.*

(1) A Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel (cited for the reigns of Asa, Amaziah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; 2 Chr. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32). Cp. (12) above.
(2) A Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah (cited for Jotham, Josiah, and Jehoiakim; 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8).
(3) A Book of the Kings of Israel (cited for genealogies, 1 Chr. xix. 1; for the reign of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chr. xx. 24; and for Manasseh, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18).
(4) A *Midrash*[1] of the Book of Kings (for the reign of Joash, 2 Chr. xxiv. 27).

[1] The noun *Midrash* is derived from a verb meaning to *search out, explore*. The word occurs only in 2 Chr. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27 in the O.T. but is very common as a description of many works of later Jewish literature. A Midrash may be defined as an imaginative adaptation of an idea suggested by Scripture, especially a homiletic exposition or an edifying religious story. "In midrashic writings "numbers are multiplied, all the details assume larger and more exalted proportions, right is always richly rewarded and wickedness signally punished, miracles are common, and prophets and kings deliver majestic, spiritual addresses, embodying the best doctrines of later Judaism" (Kent, *Student's O. T.* II. p. 20). Several of the narratives in Chronicles partake of this character. For later and more obvious examples, compare the stories of Tobit and Susanna in the Apocrypha.

This great array of authorities dwindles to small proportions on inspection. Of the fifteen given under A, nos. 13, 14 are uncertain but of very small importance, whilst no. 15 is also unknown: it is *not* the canonical book of Lamentations (see the note on 2 Chr. xxxv. 25). The rest, nos. 1—12, almost certainly were not independent works, but simply sections of some comprehensive work (see esp. nos. 10 and 12), it being the custom among the Jews to refer to the sections of a large work by means of distinctive titles—cp. Romans xi. 2, "Know ye not what the Scripture saith *in Elijah*." Thus some of these titles, e.g. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, may refer simply to passages in the canonical books of Samuel and Kings, nos. 11 and 12 to Isaiah xxxvi.—xxxix. = 2 Kin. xviii. 13—xx. 19. But the others (and perhaps some also of those just mentioned) in all probability denote sections of a large history of a more or less midrashic character; and it is this work apparently which is meant by the titles given under B. To these we now turn. It is generally admitted that all four titles mentioned in B denote one and the same work, a comprehensive history of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel. This work was *not* our canonical books of Kings, for it is quoted as containing material not found in those books. Still less was it any of the sources referred to in Kings: there is not the faintest probability that any of the new material in Chronicles was derived directly from those very old sources. The question therefore is whether in this general work to which the Chronicler appeals he had a source *independent* or *semi-independent* of Kings. Opinion is divided. Some scholars think that it was essentially dependent on the canonical Kings, merely "a reconstructed history, embellished with marvellous tales of divine interposition and prophetic activity." Others maintain that this midrashic history had its roots not only in canonical Kings but also in traditions partly or wholly independent of Kings. The latter opinion is here preferred, but the reasons for adopting it will be best seen if we first state and consider two sharply opposing views put forward by recent writers.

On the one side is Torrey (*Ezra Studies*, 1910) who argues that the Chronicler had no source at all other than the canonical books—all else was the product of his imaginative skill. He describes this supposed midrashic history of Judah and Israel as "a phantom source, of which the internal evidence is absolutely lacking, and the external evidence is limited to the Chronicler's transparent parading of authorities." The strength of Torrey's contention lies in the fact that almost all the additional matter in Chronicles is written in one and the same distinctive style. That style has certain unmistakable peculiarities. Thus Driver in the *Ency. Bib.* s.v. *Chronicles*, col. 772, writes, "It is not merely that the style of the Chronicler presents characteristically late linguistic novelties...but it has also a number of special mannerisms....So constant are [these marks] that there is hardly a single sentence, not excerpted from Samuel or Kings, in which they are not discernible." On the other side we have to consider the attitude adopted in the commentaries of Benzinger (1901) and Kittel (1902), following up a suggestion made by Büchler in 1899. These scholars not only believe that non-canonical sources supplied much of the new material of Chronicles, but they have attempted to analyse that material minutely into various contributory elements. According to their view the Chronicler was essentially a compiler, following his sources closely and showing such little independence as he exercised chiefly in those verses and passages where the affairs and interests of the Levites are set forth. In the opinion of the present writer that is not a satisfactory account of the part played by the Chronicler. It does not make sufficient allowance for the singular homogeneity of style and purpose throughout the book. Torrey's work is of value as a warning against the danger and difficulty of the analysis which Benzinger and Kittel have essayed. Frequently the points which are adduced as evidence for distinction of sources are too few or too subjective to provide adequate ground for the analysis—see the detailed examination of the Hebrew provided in the edition by Curtis. But, whilst it

should be admitted that this uniformity of style carries great weight and must receive careful consideration, it does not, we think, follow that Torrey's sweeping conclusion is correct, and that behind the non-canonical passages there is nothing save the imagination of the Chronicler. To begin with, if that were true, the Chronicler would be unparalleled amongst ancient historians. The originality of ancient chroniclers was shown in the manner in which they combined, modified, and embellished the nucleus given by tradition, but they did not invent *de novo* to the extent required by this theory. Even if that be an over-statement, we can at least assert that they did not shut themselves up to their own imagination, if any traditions relating to their subject were current. On the contrary, they made use of all such available material, good or bad. And it is quite incredible that historical interest in Jerusalem regarding the old days of the Kingdom was confined to the compilation of Kings until suddenly the Chronicler produced this startlingly different account. There is very strong probability that the version given in Chronicles has a long chain of antecedents behind it. For consider, further, the general situation. The vicissitudes of time and fortune had caused great changes in the population of Jerusalem, but none that made absolutely impossible the continuance of traditions not represented or only partially represented by the narratives crystallised in Kings. Thus "we may safely assume that the overthrow of Edom (2 Chr. xxv. 5—13) and the leprosy of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 16—23) were once told more fully than in the brief verses of 2 Kin. xiv. 7, xv. 5. We may surely allow links between the impression left upon tradition by these events and the stories that have been preserved by Chronicles" (S. A. Cook, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xii. 470). It is now generally recognised that the depopulation of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. was not nearly so complete as was once thought, and considerable continuity of tradition may have been maintained. Moreover, the influx of South Judean families in the exilic and post-exilic times must have meant an extension of popular tales concerning

Judean affairs. It is therefore significant that the South Judean "strain" is a marked feature in the Chronicler's history. Again, it is practically certain that Levitical predecessors of the Chronicler felt somewhat the same interest as he displays in the origins of their order and institutions. Are we to suppose that they made no attempts to gratify their curiosity, or to find historical grounds for their claims? Surely they would seize with interest on any and all current traditions, and would be constantly collating them with the well-known version in Kings, adding whatever they could to the total, and no doubt tending to retell the whole—at least the popular and edifying portions of the narrative—in terms more agreeable to the ideas and practices of their own time. We cannot suppose that the Chronicler was the first and only Levite who attempted to satisfy the obvious need (§ 6) for an orthodox ecclesiastical version of Judean history. Features of the genealogies, and in particular the Levitical *data*, suggest the existence of statistical records, if of nothing more. One further small but interesting point deserves mention. In 1 Chr. iv. 9, vii. 23, xii. 18 there are sayings which cannot possibly originate with the Chronicler, for they are written in an archaic style utterly foreign to his manner of speech. Of these xii. 18 is poetical in form, while the other two are sentences of a type made familiar to us by early passages in Genesis. These verses, then, are certainly not the invention of the Chronicler, and, even if they are only isolated fragments, their existence is at least significant. In fine, the natural supposition is that in post-exilic Jerusalem there were various traditions which were drawn partly, but *not exclusively*, from the particular recension of history preserved in Kings, and which continued to develop in form and perhaps in content after the "Kings" recension was relatively fixed. Whether these developments of traditions, canonical *and* otherwise, preserve any genuine history or not (§ 7), their existence in popular and priestly circles of the Chronicler's time is, we think, almost certain; and it is quite certain that, if they were in existence, the Chronicler would

utilise them. On this view, then, the sources of the Chronicler were:

(*a*) The canonical books.

(*b*) Variant forms of a few narratives in Kings; traditions of South Judean origin, recording movements of population and hostilities with southern tribes; popular midrashic tales; family statistics and genealogies, particularly of the Priests and Levites; records or traditions relating to the Temple, the fortifications of Jerusalem, and the repair of certain Judean towns—*some* of this material being really independent of the traditions in Kings.

The problem raised by the stylistic uniformity of the new passages in Chronicles must now be considered. Probably the material indicated in (*b*) above may at times have crystallised into definite midrashic writings. (Thus, when the Chronicler speaks of the "History of the Kings of Judah and Israel," we may believe that he refers to some such document, one that was either extant in his own age or was generally known to have existed.) Probably, however, it was also to a large extent in a fluid oral condition—matter of common knowledge and of common talk in Levitical circles. Certainly it is legitimate to think that with this material, written or oral or both, the Chronicler was intensely familiar; and that he could easily have related it *in his own words*. We may surmise that his procedure was somewhat as follows: He made the well-known narrative of Samuel-Kings the basis of his version, altering its words as little as possible, yet, if necessary, exercising great freedom, so as to make it fully orthodox in accordance with the ecclesiastical standards of his time. Into this groundwork he wove with admirable skill new material of fact and narrative, drawn from the sources set forth in (*b*) above; and all this new material he selected, revised, and related in such a fashion as might best serve the very definite religious, moral, and ecclesiastical ends (§ 6) which his history was designed to meet. It passed, in fact, freely and effectively through the medium of his mind; so that it appears, if not wholly in his own words, at

least coloured by his distinctive turns of speech. A second way in which we can explain the uniform style of the new matter in Chronicles and escape the conclusion that it has all been derived from the imagination of the Chronicler is to suppose that for some time past it had been transmitted through the talk or writing of Levites like-minded with the Chronicler and sharing the same ecclesiastical fashion of speech; that, in fact, much of Chronicles was built up by chroniclers before the Chronicler. There may be some truth in this argument; for, as was said above, the Chronicler was surely not the first Levite to feel the need for an "orthodox" history. The two explanations can be regarded as supplementary rather than alternative; but the present writer considers that stress should be laid chiefly upon the first.

This investigation of the structure of Chronicles yields the following general result. The position here taken is opposed to the theory that the whole of the new material was the product of the Chronicler's imagination and literary skill. It leaves open the valuable possibility that the new material may preserve historical facts and traditions independent of those in Kings. On the other hand it admits that the Chronicler has had an important share in shaping the material and that (*a*) the consequent uniformity of style renders any attempt to analyse the new matter into its proximate sources precarious (observe, however, that the *immediate* history of the sources behind the new material is not of such primary importance to us as is the fundamental conclusion that there *were* such sources): and (*b*) whilst each part of the new matter is entitled to a thorough examination on its merits, great care must be exercised to determine exactly what part the Chronicler has played. Thus it is probable that some features of the narratives in Chronicles may *originate* with the Chronicler: that is only what we should expect from a man able to plan and carry through a work so clearly intentioned and on such a large scale as Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. He may have told his tale not only in his own words, but in his own way. We must be on our guard

therefore to make allowance for the strength of his convictions, for his conception of the course of history and for the intentions with which he wrote. How far these considerations affect the historical value of his work will be dealt with below (§ 7).

This discussion of the sources may conclude by emphasising the remarkable skill of the composition. The passages taken direct from the earlier Scriptures have been so admirably combined with the new material that the component parts have been wrought into a real unity. It is evident we are dealing with an author of strong personality. What the aim and purpose of this writer were we may now proceed to consider.

§ 6. The Purpose and Method of the Chronicler

(1) In the time of the Chronicler the position of the orthodox party in Jerusalem, whose interests, civil and ecclesiastical, were bound up with the worship at the Temple on Mt Zion, was one of considerable difficulty. During the Greek period (from 330 B.C.) the mental horizon of the Jews in Jerusalem had expanded even more than under the Persian rule (538—330 B.C.). They were now able to realise their isolation and political insignificance, whilst at the same time the communities of Jews scattered in all the leading countries of the ancient world were rapidly growing in size, influence, and in cosmopolitan outlook. Even the religious supremacy of Jerusalem was threatened. We now know that there was an important Jewish Temple at Elephantine in Egypt, which the Jewish community there was eager to maintain. But far more serious was the Samaritan schism and the Temple to Jehovah erected by them on Mt Gerizim. We can well imagine that a rival Temple on *Palestinian* soil claiming, no doubt with some show of justice, that there were true Levitical families among its priests, that its ritual was correct and its observance of the Law every whit as sound as that in Jerusalem, was a matter of vital importance

to the ecclesiastical orders at Jerusalem. Undoubtedly the feud was bitter in the Chronicler's time; and there are strong grounds for holding that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah were written with the immediate object of confuting the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Samaritans and of showing that in Jerusalem only ought men to worship. Certainly Chronicles is well adapted for that end. A virulent polemic would have been discounted as a party document. The Chronicler instead has skilfully retold the story of the past, so as to leave two main impressions. In the first place, by ignoring the affairs of the Northern Kingdom, save where he intimates that its people were religiously degenerate from the start (see 2 Chr. xiii. 5—12), that they were grievously decimated by a great disaster (2 Chr. xiii. 13—17), and that in general their attitude on the subject of mixed marriages was scandalously lax (see Ezra and Nehemiah), he has subtly but forcibly created the impression that the Samaritans were little better than "a heterogeneous mob of heathen." Secondly and chiefly, his history was intended to show that Jerusalem, with its Temple on Mt Zion, is the *one* place which Jehovah has chosen, and where He has set His Name. There alone was His worship properly and legitimately established, and there alone can it still be carried on. Jerusalem too, like Samaria, had suffered for its sins, but the disaster of the exile, the break in the succession, was repaired, he argues, through the return from Babylonia of that company of Israelites of pure descent whom Ezra led back: the genealogies which are so noticeable a feature of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah are given as irrefutable proof that the Jerusalem community of the Chronicler's day—Levites and laymen—were the true and only descendants of the nation of old. It followed that by them alone could the worship of Jehovah be lawfully conducted.

It seems very probable that the Chronicler's work was directed specifically against the Samaritans. But in any case it is undoubtedly true that the essential purpose of the book was to vindicate the religious supremacy of Jerusalem, and to

exalt the honour and the privileges of its priesthood and its Temple.

(2) In seeking to achieve this aim, the Chronicler inevitably dwelt upon those aspects of life and thought in which he specially believed. Thus we may distinguish various features of his work which subserve the main purpose:

(*a*) He was anxious, for instance, to uphold the *political* supremacy of Jerusalem, no easy matter in his time. To Jews of the Greek period, fully aware of the pomp and power of heathen states, the achievements of even such national heroes as David or Solomon probably seemed pale and insignificant, as they are related in Samuel or Kings. In order to create a due sense of their importance, and to mitigate the depressing effects of Jerusalem's present impotence, the Chronicler retold the glories of the past in terms commensurate with the notions of the present. To this end he idealised the great men of Israel. Thus the life of David is related by him as a career of almost unbroken success and of consistent piety. Thus also the sacrifices offered by Solomon at the dedication of the Temple are said to have been on a scale that might well have astonished Alexander the Great.

(*b*) Chiefly, however, the Chronicler was concerned with the *religious* pre-eminence of Jerusalem. He delights therefore in magnifying to the full the glories of the Temple, its ritual and its officers. It is quite clear that his interest in this theme is far wider than any immediate polemical aim, and the subject deserves careful attention. When he describes the Temple of Solomon in terms of surpassing splendour, he is not merely seeking to cast down the pride of Samaritan rivals, he is also gratifying the longings of his own heart—how poor in comparison the outward form of the Temple he himself served so faithfully! Perhaps also he hoped thereby to excite his own love for its well-being among the less ardent of his brethren. More important was the question of *ritual and the Law*. We have already said (p. xx) that the Chronicler lived at a time when the Pentateuch had for a long while existed in its final

form, when the ritual and Law of Israel were regulated in accordance with its fully elaborated precepts ; the whole complex system being supposed to have been imparted to Israel by Moses. Now, when the Chronicler and others like him turned to the historical records of their people, the books of Samuel and Kings, they found many things which must have sorely puzzled them. For those records constantly relate events in ways which run counter to the provisions of the completed Pentateuch, sometimes ignoring, sometimes contradicting and breaking, its laws and practices. It is utterly unlikely that he and his fellows were aware that those books reflect the customs of an earlier period ; so that in altering their narrative (as he does) he was not conscious of falsifying history. Even if he was, we must not judge his conduct by the opinions of our own time, but remember that "he lived in an age when certain accepted theories were regarded as more authentic than recorded facts" (Kent, *Student's O. T.* vol. ii. 23). It is fair, however, to believe that in the inconsistencies of the older histories with the observances of his own day he saw only an astonishing ignorance or carelessness in matters of the Law on the part of the older writers—a state of affairs which called loudly for correction. For the good name of David and Solomon, for the honour of the pious Kings of Judah, as well as for the edification of his contemporaries (and, maybe, for the confusion of the Samaritans), such flagrant blemishes had to be removed. And in Chronicles he has produced *a thorough revision of the history of Judah in accordance with the principles and provisions of the completed Pentateuch*. Throughout the entire work this aim is consistently pursued. It must be therefore considered a main feature of the Chronicler's purpose. The alterations of the text of Samuel-Kings which he has made on this account will be so frequently pointed out in the notes that here one simple example will suffice. In 2 Sam. viii. 18 it is said, "And the sons of David were *priests*." Since in the Chronicler's time it was unthinkable that any could be priests save members of Levitical

families, this statement was corrected to read, "And the sons of David were *chief about the king*" (1 Chr. xviii. 17). Finally, in the officials of the Temple—Priests and Levites—the Chronicler manifests the deepest interest. Throughout his narrative he is vigilant to exalt the honour and privileges of those classes. In particular, he brings the guilds of Levitical singers into prominence so frequently that it is generally supposed he was himself a member of that order of Levites.

These remarks on the principal features of the book indicate in general the purpose and method of the Chronicler. Yet in a sense they do so externally, and behind all else, as the animating force, there lies the Chronicler's religious faith, his zeal for God. *That* truly is his ultimate motive; but it will be convenient to reserve what may be said concerning it until a later stage (§ 8).

§ 7. The Historical Value of Chronicles

Until recent times the burning question in the exposition of Chronicles has been the problem of reconciling its statements with those in Samuel-Kings, finding explanations for the inconsistencies, and combining the additional matter given in Chronicles so as to form one harmonious narrative. So baffling was the task that even the Talmudists, masters in the arts of subtle exegesis, doubted the accuracy of Chronicles, and were inclined to treat it, not as an authority for the history, but as a book for homiletic interpretation (see references in the *Jewish Ency.* iv. 60). As soon as the character and purpose of the book, the circumstances and opinions of the writer, are understood, the demand for harmonising the variant accounts at all costs is seen to be mistaken, and the exposition of Chronicles is thereby freed from a burden by which it has been sorely hampered. The question of the historical value of its narratives remains one of great importance, but on literary and scientific, not on religious, grounds (cp. p. xxx).

It will make for clearness if we approach the subject by

considering first (A) the direct historical value of Chronicles, i.e. its worth as a history of Judah; and secondly (B) its indirect historical value as a work of the period to which we have assigned its composition, 300—250 B.C. Under (A) our discussion may conveniently be divided into a consideration of: (I) those parts which reproduce or are apparently based on Samuel-Kings; (II) the material wholly or apparently independent of canonical Scripture.

A.

Direct Value.

(I) If the Chronicler's version of the history was to gain acceptance at all, it was necessary to make the older well-known histories the basis of his work. And indeed he himself no doubt conceived his version not as contradictory of the older narratives but only as a more careful account of the history of Judah, paying adequate attention to the religious affairs in which he was specially interested. Hence, wherever the text of Samuel and Kings was suitable for his purpose he reproduced it exactly[1]: an example is 2 Chr. xviii. 3—34 = 1 Kin. xviii. 4—35. The historical value of passages which are merely transcriptions must be discussed not here but in their original setting: obviously their value is that which they possess there—neither more nor less. We proceed therefore to consider the

[1] It must not be assumed that where the text of Chron. and Sam.-Kings now coincides, it has done so always. That conclusion is only generally true. Sometimes, it seems, the *original* text of Chron. was altered to conform more closely with Kings, and *vice versa* the present text of Kings is sometimes the result of assimilation to Chron. Unfortunately the evidence of the extant Greek versions (§ 10) is quite insufficient to tell us how far the present text of Chron. has been modified by this assimilating tendency, except in the last two chapters of 2 Chron. where the evidence of the Greek is peculiarly full. It is clear, however, that some by no means unimportant changes have taken place in the course of transmission: see § 10, and the remarks on p. xxii.

changes introduced by the Chronicler in using canonical sources. They are of various kinds:

(i) A great number of *minor* alterations have been made, conforming the older material to the Chronicler's point of view. A few instances may be given: 2 Sam. v. 21, "And [the Philistines] left their images there, and David and his men *took them away*" = 1 Chr. xiv. 12, "And [the Philistines] left their gods there, and David gave commandment, and they were *burned with fire*." Again, 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, "And the anger of *the Lord* was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, Go, number Israel" = 1 Chr. xxi. 1, "And *Satan* stood up against Israel and moved David to number Israel." Again, 1 Kin. ix. 12, "The cities which Solomon had given him (Huram)" = 2 Chr. viii. 2, "The cities which Huram had given to Solomon." Cp. further 2 Sam. viii. 18 = 1 Chr. xviii. 17 (quoted above, p. xli f.); 2 Sam. vi. 12 = 1 Chr. xiii. 13; 2 Sam. xxiv. 24 = 1 Chr. xxi. 25.

(ii) In some instances the alterations are so many or of so radical a nature that the whole tenour of the passage has been transformed—e.g. the conspiracy against Athaliah which resulted in the coronation of the youthful king Joash (2 Kin. xi.) is rewritten (2 Chr. xxiii.) to agree with the usages of the Temple in the Chronicler's time. Similarly in the passage which follows (2 Chr. xxiv. 4—14), which is certainly based on 2 Kin. xii. 4—16, only some 30 words of the original have been kept, so freely has it been revised. Again, the account of the destruction of Jehoshaphat's fleet (1 Kin. xxii. 48 f.) is remarkably altered in 2 Chr. xx. 35—37. Cp. further 1 Chr. xv. 25—28 = 2 Sam. vi. 12—15; 2 Chr. xxii. 7—9 = 2 Kin. ix. 27, 28; 2 Chr. xxxii. 1—23 = 2 Kin. xviii. 13—xix. 37 (a free abridgment).

(iii) Another noteworthy feature in the Chronicler's treatment of the canonical sources is his *omissions*. These call for mention here because they are not only significant of his feelings and principles, but they also have an immense effect on the impression conveyed by his narrative as compared with

that of his source. Not a word, for instance, is said that would detract from the picture of David as the man after God's heart and the ideal monarch of Israel. The perils of his youth, Saul's enmity and the long struggle against Ishbosheth are omitted[1]. His murder of Uriah and the disastrous rebellion of Absalom are ignored; but the result is a David very different from the great yet sometimes erring monarch depicted in Samuel (see the head-note to 1 Chr. xxviii.). Another significant omission is 2 Kin. xviii. 14—16, Hezekiah's payment of tribute to Babylonia, a tradition which doubtless seemed to the Chronicler a sign of weakness and lack of faith incredible in a king so pious and successful. Above all, we notice the omission of the affairs of the Northern Kingdom, except for a few derogatory notices. The consequence is that if Chronicles stood *alone*, our conception of the relative importance of Judah as compared with Israel would be very far removed from the actual facts. It is a simple matter to see how imperative it is that the impression given by Chronicles should here be corrected by the records in Kings, and the student will find it instructive to consider the point with some care.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above are clear. First, in passages of the type instanced in (ii) above, where the differences between Kings and Chronicles are considerable and not confined to changes made on transparently religious grounds, the possibility that we have to do with a variant form of the tradition in Kings should be carefully considered. If there be any such distinct traditions, even though they are few or in a late stage of development, they are of high value, for they *may* be as worthy of consideration as the form in Kings. Moreover a slight variation in a tradition may occasionally

[1] Such omissions are very skilfully managed by the Chronicler. Even so, they generally entail some abrupt transition or obscurity, as in the present instance for which see the note on 1 Chr. xi. 1. Here the cause of the obscurity can be shown by direct comparison of the earlier history in Samuel. Mark how usefully Chronicles thus demonstrates the *legitimacy* of the argument that similar difficulties elsewhere in the O.T. are perhaps due to a similar cause, although the earlier source may not be extant to prove that the conjecture is correct.

suffice to indicate the existence of a different standpoint towards an important topic or period in the history. But in the majority of *all* cases included under this heading (I) it appears that the changes in the narratives were arbitrarily made in consequence of the standpoint, beliefs, and purpose (§§ 1 and 6) of the Chronicler, and they can make no claim to rest on historical facts. For the detailed arguments upon which this general conclusion is based, the reader is referred to the notes on the text.

(II) The *additional* matter of Chronicles includes a variety of subjects. These may be roughly but conveniently summarised under the following headings—(1) *genealogical lists* (1 Chr. ii.—ix., xxiii.—xxvii., etc.); (2) *topographical and other archaeological notices* (e.g. 1 Chr. xi. 41—47; 2 Chr. xvii. 7—10, xix. 4—11, xxvi. 6, 49, xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14, and notably the organisation of the Levites, 1 Chr. xxiii., xxiv., and details regarding the building of Solomon's Temple, e.g. 2 Chr. ii.—iv., *passim*); (3) *letters and speeches* (1 Chr. xvi. 8—36, xxii. 6—19, xxviii. 2—10, xxix. 1—20; 2 Chr. xv. 1—7, xvi. 7—10, xxi. 12—15); (4) *national events, esp. religious affairs and wars* (e.g. 1 Chr. iv. 34—43, v. 6, xxiii. ff.; 2 Chr. xvii. 7—10, xix. 4—11, xxix. 3—xxx. 27), such topics being sometimes related in the style of (5) *Midrashim*—i.e. edifying tales describing marvellous deliverances from foes and splendid religious ceremonies (2 Chr. xiii. 3—20, xiv. 9—15, xxx. 13—27, and esp. xx. 1—30[1]). If, as Torrey contends, the whole of this is simply the product of the Chronicler's imagination working upon the canonical sources only and freely interpreting events in accordance with his own convictions, then, we must frankly admit, its historical value as a record of the past it purports to describe is *nil*. If, however, according to the view taken in this volume (see § 5), much of this material is drawn from a body of tradition, oral and written, current in the Jerusalem of the Chronicler's day, and not represented in canonical writings, the question of

[1] The subjects thus classified are not, of course, mutually exclusive—thus a letter or speech and statements of alleged historical events will frequently be a part of the contents of some midrashic passage.

historical value is still open. Our task, then, is to consider whether among the extra-canonical traditions some genuine historical facts may have been preserved. The problem is not easy, and, as yet, it does not admit of so exact and definite a reply as we should like to give. Obviously the answer requires a thorough consideration of each *item* of the new material, a task which would far exceed the scope of this introduction. There are, however, some general observations which throw light upon the problem. These we shall give here, reserving the discussion of individual passages for the notes. Taking the subjects enumerated above in order, we have:

(1) The new *genealogical lists*, which are so prominent a feature of Chronicles. Some of these lists are certainly not trustworthy records of pre-exilic times[1]. But others, e.g. parts of the Calebite and Levitical genealogies, probably embody facts concerning the kinships and distribution of various South Judean families in pre-exilic and exilic times, and furnish valuable evidence of a northward movement (see S. A. Cook, 1 *Esdras*, p. 12 in Charles's *Apocrypha*, or his articles on *Caleb*, *Judah*, *Levites* in *Ency. Brit.*[11]). It is certain that in post-exilic Jerusalem a considerable part of the population were descendants of these south Judean clans. Surely it would be surprising if no valid traditions of their relationships, their movements and fortunes, had been preserved amongst them. There is therefore good reason for holding that some historical information (e.g. 1 Chr. iv. 34—43) may be found in these lists, and it is possible that a close study of certain of the genealogies will yield most valuable light on some of the main questions of Old Testament history and literature. Unfortunately the study of the intricate problems involved is not yet sufficiently advanced to permit conclusions which meet with general acceptance.

(2) Much of the *topographical* and *archaeological* information scattered here and there in the books of Chronicles

[1] On the other hand they may have historical value as regards the families of Judah and Jerusalem in or about the Chronicler's own generation—a point, however, which properly falls to be discussed under B below.

does not inspire confidence, but part may rest on old tradition ; cp. the headnote to 1 Chr. xii. 1—22. Many of the references in ch. i.—ix. (e.g. vii. 24, viii. 12, etc.) to Judean townships, whether explicitly mentioned (e.g. 1 Chr. vi. 54 ff.), or lightly disguised in the genealogical tables (e.g. 1 Chr. ii. 18 ff., 50 ff.), are valuable not only for information regarding the relationship of Jewish families and movements of southern peoples, Edomites and Arabians (see (1) above, and the note on 1 Chr. ii. 42), but also as evidence of the extent (small indeed!) of the territory occupied by the post-exilic Jewish community (cp. Hölscher, *Palästina*, pp. 18—23, 26—31). It is further plausibly suggested that notices of certain tribes of the Northern Kingdom (e.g. Ephraim and Manasseh) may be regarded as indications of the extension of Judaism in Samaria and Galilee about the Chronicler's period (see note on 2 Chr. xv. 9). The Chronicler was singularly interested in building operations (see, e.g. 2 Chr. xxvi. 9, xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14) and some of his references to the building of fortified townships in Judea (2 Chr. xi. 5 ff., xiv. 6, xvi. 1—6, xvii. 12) and to the origin of buildings and gates in Jerusalem may be correct (see 2 Chr. xxvi. 5 —10, note).

(3) As regards the *letters* and *speeches* which are ascribed by the Chronicler to various kings and prophets—e.g. David, Elijah, Azariah, etc.—these cannot be deemed authentic. For example, the great song of praise attributed to David in 1 Chr. xvi. 7 ff. is wholly composed of quotations from Psalms of late date. Such speeches or letters are examples of a device constantly and legitimately employed by *ancient* historians as a method of imparting vividness and spirit to their narrative. The letters and speeches represent simply what ought in the historian's opinion to have been written or spoken. The Greek historian, Thucydides, carefully states the practice: "I have," he writes, "put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them...." (Thucy. i. 22)[1].

[1] The practice is not peculiar to Chronicles, and these remarks are generally true of the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram and

(4) *National events*, such as *religious ceremonies* (e.g. Hezekiah's Passover, 2 Chr. xxix.—xxxi.) and *wars* (e.g. 2 Chr. xx. 1—30) constitute as a rule the subject-matter of (5) the pious *midrashic passages*; so that (4) and (5) may conveniently be treated together. *Midrash* is not serious history, and very probably was not intended to be regarded as such even by its author. It is earnest moral and religious teaching presented in a quasi-historical dress. In all these passages the *form* of the tale is unhistorical, and all midrashic features, such as the incredibly and often impossibly large numbers given in Chron., must without hesitation be set aside; but it does not follow that the tale has no historical foundation whatever, that the events around which it was written were originally unreliable. In an ancient writing mythical features do not afford a proper ground for rejecting a tale as historically worthless—a fact which requires to be emphasised. An interesting example is found in the extraordinary legends which attached themselves to the life of Alexander the Great and rapidly spread throughout Europe and Asia (see *Ency. Brit.*[11] vol. i. pp. 550 f.).

Perhaps the most striking instance in Chronicles is the amazing and bloodless victory vouchsafed to Jehoshaphat over certain Bedouin tribes who invaded Judah from the desert by the southern end of the Dead Sea (2 Chr. xx. 1—30, where see notes). As told in Chronicles, the story is a *Midrash*, preaching the duty of trust in God and of obedience to His will at all hazards; but it is evident that the moral and religious form of the story has been built on and around a tradition of a desert raid on Judah. Now this nucleus of the tale may easily rest on historical fact. Fierce but undisciplined invaders, advancing from the desert through the difficult country of south Judah, a land of cliffs ravines and caves, might be sorely harassed by the guerilla attacks of the shepherd population of that region, and finally broken up by the outbreak of internal dissensions, before the main Judean army from Jerusalem had

the long prayer of Solomon, found in 1 Kin. v. 2—9, viii. 22—50, and transcribed (with some expansions) in 2 Chr. ii. 3—16, vi. 12—42.

arrived to oppose their advance in force. Such an event would quickly fade from the military recollections of Jerusalem, but might be long perpetuated as a *local* tradition among the shepherd class of the district where the victory was won. Thus we should have, on the one hand, a reason for its non-appearance in the earlier *strata* of memories embodied in Kings. On the other hand, when the South Judean families had moved northward to Jerusalem in the exilic and post-exilic days, the story would gain currency, and one can easily see how suitable it was for development into just such a religious narrative as we find in Chronicles. The raid, then, is probably a genuine tradition, but, even so, a word of caution is required. It is necessary still to consider the question whether the story is correctly associated with the time of Jehoshaphat. Perhaps, yes; but *possibly* several such raids took place, and the memories of them may have been confused and combined into one; or, again, the names of the original foes may have been changed into those of more recent opponents. Other important passages of this type are discussed in the notes on 2 Chr. xiii. 3—20, xiv. 9—15, xxxiii. 11—13.

One point calls for special mention. In the later chapters of 2 Chron. the Chronicler's account of the history, particularly as regards the relations of the Judean kingdom with the Edomites and Arabians to the south, is characterised by a freshness and independence which suggests that he was here relying on definite and valuable traditions (see notes pp. 257 f., 262, 280 f., 286 f., 292).

These results do not provide the complete material for an estimate of the historical value of Chronicles. To them must first be added the conclusions noted below, under B.

B.

Indirect Value.

Although the Chronicler says not one word directly of his own times, indirectly his work gives us much useful information concerning that obscure period. In very many ways

Chronicles is a mirror reflecting the thoughts, hopes, and circumstances of the orthodox community in Jerusalem, *c.* 300—250 B.C. Indirect and unconscious though the evidence may be, it is still precious, for our knowledge of the period is so slight that all fragments of information are most welcome.

Some of the genealogical lists yield information regarding the post-exilic population of Judah and Jerusalem. Certain references (see p. xlviii) perhaps imply the extension of Judaism in Palestine. From the descriptions of the Temple and its organisation, facts can be gleaned regarding the Temple of the Chronicler's own age. Thus in 1 Chr. xxiii ff. where the Chronicler ascribes to David (unhistorically, see notes pp. 51 f., 136, 145) the origination of the Levitical arrangements in the Temple, he gives an elaborate description of their organisation; and therein we can see a picture of the complex system and duties of the Priests and the Levites (with the subordinate classes of doorkeepers and singers) as these were finally determined in the late post-exilic Temple. Some interesting inferences can be drawn from Chronicles regarding the instruction of the people in matters of religion. When in 2 Chr. xvii. 7—9 arrangements for teaching the Law throughout Judah are said to have been instituted by Jehoshaphat, we may be sure that some such system was in vogue in the Chronicler's day, or, at the very least, that the Chronicler and his fellow-Levites were anxious to see it fully carried out. Perhaps schools for instructing the people had already been established in Jerusalem, and it was desired to extend them throughout the countryside as well. Significant in the same connection is the remark ascribed to Azariah the prophet (2 Chr. xv. 3): "Now for long seasons Israel hath been without the true God and *without a teaching priest* and without law" (cp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 3). Similarly from 2 Chr. xix. 4—11 we may infer the existence of, or the desire to establish, a careful system of courts of justice under the control of the Levitical order. Again, Chronicles contributes to our knowledge of the evolution of public worship. The subject is so obscure, the details so unknown, that we may be grateful

for anything which helps us to discern even broad stages in the development. Undoubtedly those flagrant abuses of worship which called forth the denunciations of Isaiah and Jeremiah had passed away. One gathers that public worship in the Temple had become an affair of truly religious significance. The prayer of Solomon is repeated from Kings, but in addition the Chronicler ascribes similar utterances of praise, supplication, and thanksgiving to David and Hezekiah, and the good kings (esp. Hezekiah and Josiah) are represented as zealously active in ordering and arranging for great services of worship which the people were to attend. All this, of course, is related of the past, but from it we may infer facts of the Chronicler's present. We infer, then, a community accustomed to gather constantly at the Temple for the worship of their God. The main elements of public worship can be traced. There was, of course, the ancient ritual of animal sacrifice, hallowed for the Jews by its vast antiquity, and grown the more impressive in proportion as the literalism of the past was forgotten and men felt more vividly that the offering was symbolic of things of the spirit—of the mystery of life, of forgiveness, and of recognition that all things are the gift of God. Undoubtedly there was public prayer. It is hardly possible to read the prayers of the great kings in Chronicles and not feel that they echo a liturgy of prayer—for the individual and for the nation. There was a great and impressive service of song and of music, cp. 2 Chr. v. 12, 13: *that* is writ large indeed on the pages of Chronicles; and 1 Chr. xvi. 8 ff. is enough to tell us that the Psalter was the book of praise. We have a sufficient hint, too, that to the songs at least, if not to the prayers also, the people were expected to respond—"And all the people said, Amen, and praised the Lord" (2 Chr. xvi. 36). Probably arrangements were in vogue for regular reading of the Law, although Chronicles alone would hardly suffice to establish the point (2 Chr. xxxiv. 31 is insufficient evidence). Even if it be thought that this picture represents rather the ideals of the Levites than the actual attainments of the community, it is

still important that such a standard of worship was conceived by the priests and set before the people. One recalls the words of the great prophet of exilic or post-exilic times who wrote: "for mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isaiah lvi. 7). His was a vision of the Temple as the centre of the whole world's worship. To the Chronicler it had at least become a true "house of prayer" for Israel. Other details might be mentioned, but these will suffice to indicate the light which Chronicles throws upon the *conditions* of the post-exilic community.

Much more important, however, is the insight we gain into the methods and principles, the ideals and the ideas which prevailed in Temple circles in Jerusalem during the third century B.C. Chronicles, like all distinctive books, is necessarily eloquent of its author's mind and character. Now the Chronicler was a Levite of the Levites, and no doubt typical of his class at this period. But we know that this period was of the highest importance in the formation of the O.T., and it was precisely at the hands of the orthodox Levitical circles that many books of the Jewish Scriptures, especially the Laws, the Histories, and the Psalms, underwent the revision which brought them approximately to their present form. It is therefore extremely valuable that we should be able to study the psychological characteristics of a typical Levite of that age. From this point of view hardly any part of Chronicles is without significance. Thus the midrashic stories, whatever their value otherwise, at least reveal a great deal regarding the mental and moral outlook of the writer and his contemporaries.

"Chronicles," it has been said (Bennett, *Expositor's Bible*, p. 20), "is an object-lesson in ancient historical composition." But it ought also to teach us that history is something more than the record of occurrences. Facts are fundamental, but of profound importance also is the attitude in which we approach them.

To sum up the whole matter of this section. Compared with Samuel-Kings, Chronicles is of little or no value as a record of the history of the Judean kingdom. Where it differs from

those books, in almost all cases the earlier account is the more accurate and trustworthy. In what Chronicles *adds*, there may sometimes be found traditional developments of genuine historical facts. Even if they should prove to be few, it is possible that there may be among them some points of high importance for our understanding of the Old Testament records. Finally, as a product of the Greek period, Chronicles is very valuable in illustrating the methods, ideals, and temperament of the Levitical classes of Jerusalem about that time.

These results are disappointing only if we insist on treating Chronicles as a manual of early Judean history instead of as a remarkable and in some ways unique religious work.

§ 8. The Religious Value of Chronicles

Chronicles has suffered by comparison with the fresher, more human, history in Samuel and Kings. It has seemed to modern taste somewhat dry and uninspiring. To the superficial reader any religious feeling in the book is devoted to the concerns of a ritual that has long since passed away, and with which we might in any case have little sympathy. And, of course, the contrast is still more unfavourable if it be made with the books which contain the noblest utterances of Jewish faith. Job in his anguish crying "though He slay me yet will I trust Him"; the Psalmist fearless of all ill since God is with him; Hosea who wrote of God "I desire mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings"—these stand on a higher spiritual level than the Chronicler. None the less, there *is* virtue, and even great virtue, in Chronicles, and failure to perceive it only argues lack of insight on our part.

In the first place, if Temple ritual and observance of the precepts of the Law bulk too largely in the Chronicler's conception of the religious life, he had much excuse for his attitude. In his day and generation, faithfulness to Jehovah and to that moral and spiritual interpretation of life for which the worship of Jehovah stood, inevitably involved participation in the organised services which centred in the Temple.

Whatever its imperfections, the Temple at Jerusalem in his time was performing a great religious work in keeping alive zeal for Jehovah and His Law in the face of much degenerate heathenism. Moreover it is an unfair and a false assumption to suppose that his manifest devotion to the ritual necessarily or probably meant that his religion was mere formalism or his creed poorly conceived. Behind the parade of the formalities of worship burns a living faith. The freedom with which the Chronicler has retold the history to conform with his religious views is indeed the measure of the force of his beliefs. We have already noted (p. xlix) as regards one midrashic passage that it is essentially a sermon on the need for trust in God. The Chronicler was passionately convinced that virtue is rewarded and vice is punished. He believed in a God supremely just yet merciful, One who rules directly and personally in human life, destroying evil, guiding and fostering all that is true and good. "The might of nations counted as nothing before Him. Obedience and faith in Jehovah were more effective instruments in the hands of Israel's kings than powerful armies and strong alliances." It is easy to smile at the Chronicler's belief that piety is necessarily rewarded by worldly prosperity, and sin by worldly misfortune. But, if the life and teaching of Jesus Christ have led us to a deeper interpretation of life, that does not lessen the virtue of the Chronicler in maintaining his faith in God's justice and vigilance, despite all the cruel evidences of the prosperity of the wicked. His doctrine of reward and punishment was crude, but after all he was striving, as best he knew how, to maintain the great central conviction of religion that "all things work together for good to them that love God." Everywhere his work is dominated by the sense of right and wrong, and a clear-eyed perception of the absolute distinction between them. He brings all men and all things to a moral and religious test. The imperishable worth of Chronicles will ever be that it is the record of a man's endeavour to present, in terms of national experience, the eternal laws of the spiritual realm.

Finally, since the Chronicler was retelling the past in terms of the present, we know that these beliefs of his were not rules applied in theory to history and ignored in present practice. They were the convictions by which his own soul lived. No one can afford to despise a man who was prepared to walk by the light of such a faith amid the difficulties and the perils which surrounded the enfeebled Jerusalem of that age. As Curtis says, "it was under the tutelage of men like the Chronicler that the Maccabees were nourished and the heroic age of Judaism began." We must not allow any distaste for legalism in religion to blind us to the virtues of the post-exilic Jews. The very rigidity of the ritual and the doctrine was essential to the preservation of the nobler elements in the faith. In the memorable words of Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, pp. 497 f.), "At a time when all nationalities, and at the same time all bonds of religion and national customs were beginning to be broken up in the seeming cosmos and real chaos of the Graeco-Roman Empire, the Jews stood out like a rock in the midst of the ocean. When the natural conditions of independent nationality all failed them, they nevertheless artificially maintained it with an energy truly marvellous, and thereby preserved for themselves, and at the same time for the whole world, an eternal good." Chronicles may justly claim to have played a part in that extraordinary triumph.

§ 9. Name and Position in the Canon

Name. The Hebrew title is *Dibhrē Hayyāmîm*, literally *The Acts* (or *Sayings*) *of the Days.* In the Greek Version (the Septuagint) Chronicles was regarded as supplementary to Samuel and Kings, and so received the title "[Books of] the Omitted Acts" (*παραλειπομένων*) or "the Omitted Acts of the Kings (*or* Reigns) of Judah." This name, moreover, passed into the Latin Vulgate, "(*Libri*) *Paralipomenōn.*" The title *Chronicles* seems to be due to a remark made by St Jerome, who, in commenting on the Hebrew title, wrote that the book might more appropriately be styled the "Chronicle of the whole

of sacred history" (*Prologus in Libros Regum*, ed. Vallarsi, ix. 458). The use of the phrase is also suggested by a similar expression (*lit.* "the book of the Acts of the Days of...") found some twenty times in Kings, and commonly rendered "the book of the chronicles of..." e.g. 1 Kin. xiv. 19. On the whole, *Chronicles* is a satisfactory title[1].

Division. The division of Chronicles into two books (as in the English Versions) probably originated in the Septuagint (LXX.); the MSS. A and B both mark the division. It entered the E.V. through the Latin Vulgate. On the other hand, Rabbinical evidence (Talmud, *Baba Bathra* 15 *a*; and the Masōrah) and the Christian Fathers testify that among the Hebrews the book was undivided: so Origen (*apud* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25, 2) and Jerome (*Domnioni et Rogatiano*).

Position in Canon. In the English Version Chronicles stands next after Kings, the Historical Books being grouped together. This arrangement was derived from the Septuagint through the Latin Vulgate. The order of the Hebrew Bible is different. There the books are arranged in three sections, of which the first contains the Books of the Pentateuch, the second includes the Historical Books from Joshua to Kings, while the third (Heb. "Kĕthūbhīm") contains Chronicles. The books of this third section seem to have been the last to receive Canonical Authority among the Jews. Kings thus appears to have been taken into the Canon before Chronicles.

In the Hebrew Bible the "Kĕthūbhīm" (Hagiographa) are usually arranged thus:—first the Poetical Books (Psalms, Proverbs, Job), next the Five Rolls or *Megillōth* (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), and lastly the three books Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. This is the usual Hebrew tradition, though it is surprising to find Ezra (which begins with the closing verses of Chronicles) put before

[1] It is, however, open to the objection that an inexperienced reader may make the mistake of supposing that these references in Kings to "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel [Judah]" are references to the canonical Chronicles.

Chronicles. The wording of Matt. xxiii. 35, however, "From the blood of Abel the righteous (see Gen. iv. 10 f.) unto the blood of Zachariah (see 2 Chr. xxiv. 20 ff.)" suggests that as early as our Lord's day Chronicles was regarded as the last, just as Genesis was the first, book of the Hebrew Canon. It is probable, therefore, that Chronicles found its way into the Canon *after* Ezra-Nehemiah, the latter book being needed to represent the post-exilic period of the history, whereas Chronicles covered ground already occupied by the books of Samuel and Kings.

§ 10. Text and Versions of Chronicles

Text. The Hebrew (Masoretic) text in Chronicles is, on the whole, well preserved, although by no means free from textual errors (cp. 1 Chr. vi. 28). Many of these occur, as one would expect, in the lists of proper names. Olstead (in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Oct. 1913) has given reasons for holding that occasionally the original text of Chronicles may have suffered from assimilation to the text of Samuel-Kings. Further, we note a few phrases and passages which seem to be scribal additions (see § 3, p. xxii). An interesting scribal omission of late date is noted on 2 Chr. xxviii. 20. In passages which are parallel to the older canonical books Chronicles has occasionally preserved a superior reading, e.g. 1 Chr. xx. 4, Heb. and LXX. "there arose war *at Gezer*" = 2 Sam. xxi. 18, "there was again war...*at Gob*"; or again, 1 Chr. viii. 53, "Eshbaal" = 2 Sam. ii. 8 "Ishbosheth"; or cp. 1 Chr. xiv. 14, note on *go not up*.

Versions. (1) *Greek Versions.* What is commonly called the Septuagint (LXX.) of Chronicles is now recognised to be not the *original* LXX., but a later Greek translation, which most scholars (esp. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*) consider to be the rendering of Theodotion. [For criticism of the view that it is Theodotion's rendering see the article by Olstead mentioned above.] In the main this rendering is a close reproduction

of the Masoretic text, and of little value except for determining the official Hebrew text of the second century. The *old* LXX., unfortunately, no longer exists for 1 Chr. i.—2 Chr. xxxiv.; but for 2 Chr. xxxv., xxxvi. it has been preserved in 1 Esdras i.—a fact of great good fortune, not merely for the textual criticism of that passage, but for the light it sheds on the relations and characteristics of the Greek Versions.

(2) The *Old Latin Version* was made from the *old* LXX. which is now lost except for the last two chapters of Chronicles, as stated above. It would therefore be of great value for criticism, but alas! only a few fragments survive.

The later Latin Version, the *Vulgate*, made by Jerome, is of small value, as it represents only the official Hebrew text.

(3) The *Syriac Version*, known as the Peshiṭṭa, is of even smaller value for textual criticism. Unlike the close rendering of other books in the Peshiṭṭa, Chronicles constantly has the characteristics of a paraphrase rather than a translation. One example will suffice. For "Joel the chief and Shaphat the second," 1 Chr. v. 12, the Peshiṭṭa has "And Joel went forth at their head and judged them and taught them the scriptures well." The Peshiṭṭa is further noteworthy for curious omissions (and substitutions), e.g. 2 Chr. iv. 10—22; xi. 5—xii. 12 (for which 1 Kin. xii. 25—30, followed by 1 Kin. xiv. 1—9, is substituted).

For further information regarding the text and versions of Chronicles, see the edition by Curtis, pp. 35 ff.

§ 11. Literature

Of the more recent literature on Chronicles the following is a list of the principal works which have been consulted in the preparation of this volume.

J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1885), esp. ch. vi.

W. H. Bennett, *The Books of Chronicles* in the *Expositor's Bible* (1894).

F. Brown, *Chronicles* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898).
W. R. Smith and S. R. Driver, *Chronicles* in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1899).
I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1901).
R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1902).
C. F. Kent, *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives* (Student's Old Testament, 1905).
W. R. Harvie-Jellie, *Chronicles* in the *Century Bible* (1906).
E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *Chronicles* (the International Critical Commentary, 1910).
S. R. Driver, *Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 517—540 (8th ed. 1909).
W. R. Smith and S. A. Cook, *Chronicles* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910).
C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (1910).
A. T. Olstead, *Source Study and the Biblical Text* in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (Oct. 1913).

Students interested in the Hebrew text should consult Kittel's edition of the O.T. in Hebrew; Kittel's *Chronicles in Hebrew* in *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (ed. P. Haupt); Torrey's *Ezra Studies*, and the commentary by Curtis and Madsen mentioned above; also Arno Kropat, "Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik," in the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Beihefte) xvi. (1909).

N.B. The commentary on Chronicles according to the text of the Authorised Version was edited in this series by the Rev. Professor W. E. Barnes, D.D., in 1899. For this new edition which is based on the Revised Version the present writer is entirely responsible. He desires here to acknowledge the courtesy of Professor Barnes who has kindly permitted the retention of notes from the first edition.

W. A. L. E.

Sept. 1st, 1915.

THE FIRST BOOK OF
THE CHRONICLES

Chapters I.—IX. GENEALOGIES.

Ch. I. The Genealogies of the Peoples.

The historical narrative of the books of Chronicles commences in ch. x. with the record of the defeat and death of King Saul on Mt Gilboa.

The first nine chapters are occupied almost entirely by a series of genealogical lists. Starting from the primeval age, the line is traced from Adam to the origin of Israel, showing its place among the nations of the ancient world. Attention is then confined to the descendants of Israel, amongst whom the genealogies of Judah (particularly, the line of David), of Levi, and of Benjamin, are given prominence. Finally the ancestry of Saul, and a list of inhabitants of Jerusalem is recorded.

The modern reader is inclined to regard these statistics as the least important section of the book, but the fact that the bare lists of names are so foreign to our taste should serve at least as a valuable warning of the difference between our outlook and that of the Chronicler. It is in the highest degree important to understand the motives which caused the Chronicler to give these lists of names as the fitting introduction to the history, since the same motives operate throughout the book and determine the standpoint from which the entire history is considered.

(1) In the first place the genealogies were not recorded by the Chronicler simply for the archaeological interest they possess. They served a most *practical* purpose, in that they helped to determine for the Jewish community of the Chronicler's time what families were of proper Levitical descent and might claim a share in the privileges pertaining thereto, and—on a wider scale—what families might justly be considered to be the pure blood of Israel. How serious the consequences entailed by the absence of a name from such lists might be is well illustrated by Ezra ii. 61—63 (=Neh. vii. 63—65), "the children of Habaiah, the children of Hakkoz...sought their register among those that were reckoned by genealogy, but they were not found: therefore were they deemed polluted and put away from the priesthood." On the other

1 ADAM, Seth, Enosh; Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared; Enoch,
2, 3 Methuselah, Lamech; Noah, Shem, Ham, and
4 Japheth.

hand the Jew who could successfully trace his ancestry in the great lists knew himself indubitably a member of the chosen people and was confident of his part in the covenantal grace and in all those hopes which the faith of Israel inspired and sustained.

(2) The practical aspect of these lists was thus essentially connected with high *religious* sentiment. They were an expression of the continuity of Israel, a declaration that the Present was one with the Past, a witness and an assurance of the unfailing grace of Israel's God. The genealogies therefore are in perfect harmony with the spirit and purpose of the Chronicler's work—see the Introd. § 6.

(3) Finally, in the lists of place-names and genealogies of inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, various facts of great historical interest are preserved—see Introd. § 7, pp. xlvii f. and (e.g.) ii. 42 note.

Ch. i. contains the genealogies of the earliest age, showing the origin of the nations. It concludes with a list of the chiefs of Edom. The names are those given in the genealogies of Gen. i.—xxxvi., but the lists are abbreviated to the utmost by the omission of statements of relationship. Evidently the Chronicler was able to assume that the connection between the names was a matter of common knowledge.

1—4 (cp. Gen. v. 3—32). A Genealogy from Adam to the Sons of Noah.

1. *Seth...Noah*] This genealogy of ten antediluvian patriarchs follows Gen. v. 3—32 (P), the "Sethite" line as compared with Gen. iv. 17—24 (J) where the descent is traced through Cain. There is some ancient connection between the list and the Babylonian tradition of ten kings before the Flood (see Ryle, *Genesis*, pp. 88 ff. in this series). For the symbols J and P, see the Introd. p. xx.

Enosh] A poetical word which, like *Adam* in prose writings, was used as a generic term for "man."

3. *Enoch*] Heb. Ḥanôkh. In ver. 33 the same name is more correctly rendered Hanoch, but the R.V. not unwisely has here retained the famous name in the form (derived through the Vulgate from the LXX.) with which the A.V. has made us familiar; cp. Gen. iv. 17, and v. 21.

5—23. The Genealogy of the Nations.

The table which follows is taken from Gen. x. 2—29. It is geographical rather than ethnological, i.e. neighbouring nations are regarded as having the same descent. The world as then known is divided into three areas of which that in the north and west is assigned to the Sons of Japheth (5—7), the southern to the Sons of Ham, and the middle and eastern to the Sons of Shem (17—23). Had the arrangement been according to actual descent the Semitic Zidonians, for instance, would not be described as the offspring of Ham (ver. 13).

The passage, when analysed, divides as follows: 5—9 (a general table of the descendants of Japheth and Ham), 10—16 (an appendix to the descendants of Ham), 17 (a general table of the descendants of Shem), 18—23 (an appendix to the descendants of Shem). Of these four sections, the general tables, vv. 5—9 and 17, belong to the "Priestly" narrative of the Hexateuch, whilst the two appendices, vv. 10—16, 18—23, are from the earlier narrative known as J. For a full examination of the many interesting questions raised by this account of the origin of the nations known to the Israelites the reader must be referred to the commentaries on Genesis where such discussion is appropriate (see Ryle, *Genesis*, in this series; or more fully Skinner, *Genesis*, pp. 188 ff.). Here a few remarks of a general character must suffice.

With the exception of Nimrod the names are those of nations and tribes (e.g. Madai [Medes], Javan [Greeks]) or countries (e.g. Mizraim [Egypt]) or cities (Zidon). The names are eponymous: that is to say "each nation is represented by an imaginary personage bearing its name, who is called into existence for the purpose of expressing its unity, but is at the same time conceived as its real progenitor"; and the relations existing or supposed to exist between the various races and ethnic groups are then set forth under the scheme of a family relationship between the eponymous ancestors. This procedure may seem strange to us but it was both natural and convenient for a period when men had not at their disposal our scientific methods of classification. It must have been specially easy for Semites, like Israel, who in everyday life were accustomed to call a population the "sons of" the district or town which they inhabited. But in truth the practice was widespread in antiquity, and, if a parallel is desired, an excellent one may be found in the Greek traditions respecting the origins of the several branches of the Hellenic race. Whether the ancients believed that these eponymous ancestors really had lived is somewhat uncertain. Probably they did, although such names as *Rodanim* (ver. 7) and *Ludim* (ver. 11) where the name is actually left in a plural form (as we might say "Londoners") makes it difficult to doubt that in some cases the convention was conscious and deliberate. The notion that the chief nations of antiquity were differentiated from one another within some three generations of descent from a common ancestor, Noah, is plainly inaccurate. Equally untenable is the primary conception assumed in this table that the great races of mankind have come into being simply through the expansion and subdivision of single families.

It must not be imagined that these facts in any way destroy the value of the table. *Historically*, it is a document of great importance as a systematic record of the racial and geographical beliefs of the Hebrews. Its value would be increased could we determine precisely the period when it was originally drawn up, but unfortunately it is not possible to do so with certainty. Arguments based on the resemblance between this table and the nations mentioned in the books of Ezekiel and Jeremiah are inconclusive; nor does the fact that the general tables (vv. 5—9, 17) now form part of P, the "Priestly" document, help us greatly, for we cannot argue from the date of the document as a whole to the date of

5 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai,
6 and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And the

its component laws or traditions, which of course may be much earlier. *Religiously*, the worth of this table is to be seen in the conviction of the fundamental unity of the human race, which is here expressed. The significance of this may best be felt if we contrast the Greek traditions which display a keen interest in the origins of their own peoples but none at all in that of the barbarians. Ancient society in general was vitiated by failure to recognise the moral obligation involved in our common humanity. Even Israel did not wholly transcend this danger, and its sense of spiritual pre-eminence may have taken an unworthy form in Jewish particularism; but at least, as we here see, there lay beneath the surface the instinct that ultimately the families of the earth are one, and their God one.

5—7 (=Gen. x. 2—4). THE SONS OF JAPHETH.

5. *The sons of Japheth*] The writer begins with the northern peoples.

Gomer] to be identified with the *Gimirrai* of the Assyrian monuments, the Κιμμέριοι of the Greeks, who migrated from South Russia into Asia Minor (Pontus and Cappadocia) under the pressure of the Scythians (Hdt. I. 103; IV. 11, 12; cp. Ezek. xxxviii. 6, R.V.).

Magog] In Ezek. xxxviii. 2 (R.V.) judgement is denounced on "Gog, of the land of Magog, the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal" who is represented as accompanied in his migration by the "hordes" of Gomer and Togarmah (ver. 6), "all of them riding upon horses" (ver. 15). Magog represents therefore one of several tribes of northern nomads, possibly the Scythians.

Madai] i.e. Media or the Medes. Of the many allusions in the O.T. to this famous people, the first is found in 2 Kin. xvii. 6; cp. also Is. xiii. 17; Jer. xxv. 25; Est. i. 3; Dan. i. 9. The Median Empire dates from the 7th cent. B.C., but the Medes are referred to by Assyrian inscriptions of the 9th cent., at which time they seem to occupy the mountainous regions to the S. and S.W. of the Caspian Sea. They were the first Aryan race to play an important part in Semitic history.

Javan] the Ionians, a branch of the Greek peoples. They were already settled in the Aegean islands and on the west coast of Asia Minor at the dawn of Greek history. Being a seafaring nation and having a slave-trade with Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 13; Joel iii. 6 [*Heb.* iv. 6 "Grecians"]), they became known to Israel at an early date. In some late passages of the O.T. (e.g. Zech. ix. 13; Dan. viii. 21, xi. 2) *Javan* denotes the world-power of the Greeks, established by the conquests of Alexander the Great and maintained in part by his successors, in particular the Seleucid kings of Syria.

Tubal, and Meshech] cp. Is. lxvi. 19; Ps. cxx. 5. They are mentioned together Ezek. xxvii. 13, xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1; and are to be identified with the Τιβαρηνοί and Μοσχοί of Hdt. III. 94, who are the

sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and [1]Diphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and [2]Rodanim.

[1] In Gen. x. 3, *Riphath*. [2] In Gen. x. 4, *Dodanim*.

"Tabali" and "Muski" of the monuments. In the time of the later Assyrian Empire they lived as neighbours in the country N.E. of Cilicia, but at a later period the Τιβαρηνοί (Tubal) lived in Pontus, and the Μοσχοί (Meshech) further E. towards the Caspian. (The Meshech of this verse is to be distinguished from the Meshech son of Shem mentioned in ver. 17.)

Tiras] Not the Thracians (so Jos. *Ant.* I. 6), but most probably the Tyrseni, a piratical people frequenting the coasts and islands of the north Aegean. They are mentioned among the seafarers who assailed Egypt in the reign of Merenptah.

6. *Ashkenaz*] In Jer. li. 27 "the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz" are to be summoned against Babylon. The home of the Ashkenaz is therefore somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ararat (Armenia); and they are apparently the Asguza of the monuments, and perhaps may be identified with the Scythians.

Diphath] The LXX., Vulg. and some Heb. MSS. have *Riphath* (so also Gen. x. 3), which is to be preferred. The identity of the place or people is not yet ascertained.

Togarmah] Perhaps in Armenia, but the evidence is inconclusive. That it was a neighbour of Gomer, Tubal, and Meshech appears probable from Ezek. xxvii. 14, where Togarmah is mentioned as trading with Tyre in horses and mules. Cp. also Ezek. xxxviii. 6, and the note above on *Magog*.

7. *Elishah*] Ezekiel (xxvii. 7) addressing Tyre, "Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was thine awning." Elishah has not been identified with certainty. It has been supposed to be *Carthage*. Another suggestion is *Alashiya* (of the Tell el-Amarna Letters) which may be a Cilician district, or perhaps rather Cyprus; cp. the note on *Kittim* below.

Tarshish] generally now identified with Tartessus, a Phoenician town in the south of Spain. This is supported by the various references to Tarshish as a Tyrian colony rich in minerals and far from Palestine (see, e.g. Ezek. xxvii. 12; Jon. i. 3; Ps. lxxii. 10; 2 Chr. ix. 21). To identify it with Tarsus, the famous town in Cilicia, is in some ways attractive, but is on the whole less probable.

Kittim] The inhabitants of Cyprus are meant, "Kittim" being derived from Kition (modern *Larnaca*), the name of one of its oldest towns. In later times Kittim (Chittim) is used vaguely of Western islands (Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6) or nations; "the ships of Kittim" (Dan. xi. 30) are the Roman ships; "the land of Chittim" (Χεττιείμ, 1 Macc. i. 1) is Macedonia (*ib.* viii. 5).

Rodanim] No doubt the Rhodians are meant; their island was

8 The sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, Put, and Canaan.
9 And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabta, and Raama, and Sabteca. And the sons of Raamah; Sheba,

celebrated even in the days of Homer. On the spelling *Dodanim* (R.V. marg.; Gen. x. 4), cp. the note on *Diphath* above. The Heb. letters *r* (ר) and *d* (ד) are easily confused.

8, 9 (=Gen. x. 6, 7). The Sons of Ham.

8. *The sons of Ham*] The southern peoples are next enumerated.

Cush] The Heb. name here transliterated *Cush* is several times translated "Ethiopia" (e.g. 2 Kin. xix. 9; Is. xviii. 1) no doubt rightly. On the inscriptions of Asshur-bani-pal frequent mention is made of Ku-su (Ku-u-su) "Ethiopia" in connection with Mu-ṣur "Egypt." The Cushites were not Negroes but a brown race like the modern Nubians (Soudanese). The "sons of Cush," however, seem to be tribes located mostly on the Arabian side of the Red Sea, ver. 9 below.

Mizraim] is without doubt Egypt. In form the word may be dual, and it is generally said to mean the two Egypts, Upper and Lower.

Put] This people is mentioned among the helpers of Egypt in Jer., in Ezek. (twice), and in Nahum. In Ezek. xxvii. 10 it appears among the auxiliary troops of Tyre. Put used therefore to be identified with the Libyans of the N. coast of Africa, but more probably it denotes the *Punt* of the Egyptian monuments, i.e. the African coast of the Red Sea.

Canaan] the eponym of the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine west of Jordan. Actual racial affinities are here disregarded or unperceived, for the Canaanites (except the Philistines and Phoenicians on the strip of coastland) were Semites and spoke a language closely resembling Hebrew. That they are here reckoned as Hamites and made a "brother" of Egypt is due perhaps in part to the frequent dominations of Palestine by Egypt, but more probably to the political and religious antagonism between Israel and the Canaanites, which suggested that they ought to be most closely associated with Egypt, Israel's traditional oppressor. Note that in Gen. ix. 25—27 (where hostile feeling against Canaan is prominent) "Canaan" is not said to be the son of Ham, but takes Ham's place as a son of Noah (Ryle, *Genesis*, p. 127).

9. *the sons of Cush*] According to some authorities Seba and Havilah were tribes or districts on the African coast of the Red Sea, whilst Sabta and Raama and Sabteca were in Arabia. It is somewhat more probable that all (except Seba) were located on the Arabian side of the Red Sea.

Seba] In Is. xliii. 3 and xlv. 14 Seba (the Sabeans) is mentioned along with Egypt and Cush, and in Ps. lxxii. 10 along with Sheba. Probably a district on the African side of the Red Sea is meant.

Sheba, and Dedan] Also in ver. 32, where see note. Sheba is frequently mentioned in the O.T. (e.g. Jer. vi. 20; 1 Kin. x. 1 ff. = 2 Chr. ix. 1 ff.; Is. lx. 6) as a distant land, rich in gold, frankincense, and precious stones.

and Dedan. And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be 10
a mighty one in the earth. And Mizraim begat Ludim, and 11
Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, 12
and Casluhim (from whence came [1]the Philistines), and

[1] Heb. *Pelishtim.*

It was a flourishing and wealthy state, at one period (*c.* 700 B.C.) the centre of power and civilisation in S. Arabia. Dedan was probably a merchant tribe, specially associated with Sheba (cp. Ezek. xxxviii. 13).

10—16 (=Gen. x. 8—18 *b*). APPENDIX. OTHER DESCENDANTS OF HAM.

10. *And Cush begat Nimrod*] From the parallel passages in Gen. (x. 10, 11) it is apparent that Nimrod is the name of an individual, the traditional founder of the Babylonian-Assyrian Empire. As Cush is here called the father of Nimrod and in ver. 8 is the son of Ham, Hebrew tradition would appear to have regarded Hamites as the founders of the Babylonian power. Possibly the Redactor of Genesis who *combined* these verses which belong to the tradition of J with vv. 5—9 which are from "P" may have thought so. But in the independent "J" narrative it is very probable that Cush, father of Nimrod, represents the third or Kassite dynasty (Κοσσαῖοι) which held sway in Babylon from about 1750—1200 B.C. Even so, the identification of Nimrod himself remains a puzzle, and it is not yet possible to say whether he is a legendary or an historical character, or partly both.

began to be a mighty one in the earth] i.e. was the first grand monarch (for the idiom, cp. Gen. ix. 20). In Gen. x. 9, he is further and quaintly described as "a mighty hunter before the Lord."

11. *Ludim*] reckoned in Jer. xlvi. 9 and Ezek. xxx. 5 (R.V. "Lud") among the auxiliary troops of Egypt (*Mizraim*). Probably not the Lydians of Asia Minor are meant, but a people of N. Africa not yet known. Both this word and *Lehabim* may be variants for the Libyans, tribes W. of Cyrene (cp. 2 Chr. xii. 3, xvi. 8). See also ver. 17, note on *Lud.* Of the *Anamim*, *Naphtuhim*, nothing is certainly known.

12. *Pathrusim*] the inhabitants of Pathros (Is. xi. 11), i.e. Upper Egypt.

Casluhim] not identified.

from whence came the Philistines] Elsewhere (Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7; cp. Deut. ii. 23) the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor. It is natural therefore to think that an accidental transposition has taken place, and that this clause, *whence...Philistines*, originally followed *Caphtorim*. Note, however, that the same order is found in Gen. x. 14.

Caphtorim] i.e. the inhabitants of Caphtor, which has usually been taken to mean the island of Crete, but is also plausibly identified with "Keftiu," the S.W. coastlands of Asia Minor. Cp. Macalister, *The Philistines*, pp. 4 ff.

13 Caphtorim. And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and
14 Heth; and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Gir-
15 gashite; and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite;
16 and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite.
17 The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad,

13. *Canaan begat*] Of the four sons of Ham—viz. Cush, Mizraim, Put, Canaan—note that the sons of Put are omitted. After the sons of Cush (ver. 9), and of Mizraim (ver. 11), we here pass to the sons of Canaan.

Zidon his firstborn] From the time of David downwards Tyre takes precedence of Zidon in any mention of the Phoenician cities in the O.T., but Zidon was the older of the two cities, as is here implied and as the Roman historian Justin (XVIII. 3) asserts. So we find the Phoenicians in the earlier books of the O.T. called Zidonians, not Tyrians (e.g. Judg. iii. 3; 1 Kin. v. 6). Homer also refers not to Tyre but to Zidon.

Heth] i.e. the Hittites, a northern non-Semitic race, who from about 1800—700 B.C. were a great power, extending over part of Asia Minor and northern Syria from the Orontes to the Euphrates. The references to them in the O.T. make it probable that Hittite settlements were to be found in various parts of Palestine. This fact and their dominant influence, *c.* 1300 B.C., throughout Canaan and Phoenicia probably accounts for their inclusion as a "son" of Canaan.

14. *the Jebusite*] the ancient population of Jerusalem, cp. Judg. i. 21; 2 Sam. v. 6.

the Amorite] cp. Num. xiii. 29, xxi. 21; Judg. i. 35. The name (probably a racial one) was frequently used of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan ("Canaanites" being the geographical description). In a more restricted sense it was used to denote the people of Sihon, east of the Jordan.

15. *the Hivite*] In Josh. xi. 3, the Hivites are placed in the extreme N. of the land, "the Hivite under Hermon," but the word may be an error for Hittite (see above ver. 13). In Josh. ix. 7 and Gen. xxxiv. 2 they are located at Gibeon and Shechem. The *Arkite* and *Sinite* lived in Lebanon, the *Arvadite* (cp. Ezek. xxvii. 8) on the sea-coast N. of Gebal (Byblus), the *Zemarite* a little to the S. of the Arvadite, and the *Hamathite* furthest to the north on the Orontes.

17 (=Gen. x. 22, 23). THE SONS OF SHEM.

17. *The sons of Shem*] These occupied the middle geographical "zone."

Elam] is the name of a land and nation N. of the Persian Gulf and E. of Babylonia, and is often referred to in the O.T. Though settled by Semites at a very early date, it was subsequently, *c.* 2280 B.C., possessed by a non-Semitic race, who even extended their power over Babylonia itself. The inclusion of Elam among the Semites is doubtless due to its proximity to Asshur, and, though not strictly correct, is very natural.

Asshur] The Assyrians, who are so frequently referred to in the

and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and [1]Meshech. And Arpachshad begat Shelah, and Shelah 18
begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons: the 19

[1] In Gen. x. 23, *Mash.*

O.T., were mainly, if not entirely Semitic: a martial and ruthless people whose conquests in the 14th—7th cents. have made them world-famous.

Arpachshad] a somewhat obscure name. In the last part (*chshad*) the same consonants occur as in the name "Chasdim," the "Chaldees" of the O.T. *Possibly* two names have been run together, the second being that of the Chaldees or Chaldeans, a Semitic race who from *c.* 900 B.C. dominated Babylonia, assimilating with the earlier Semitic inhabitants. This conjecture has some support in the surprising fact that the Chaldeans are not otherwise mentioned in the table; it is opposed by the fact that *Arpachshad* occurs elsewhere, ver. 24; Gen. x. 24, xi. 10 ff.

Lud] the name suggests the Lydians, but how this non-Semitic people situated on the W. coast of Asia Minor comes to be included with Asshur and Aram as a son of Shem is a mystery. Possibly therefore a Semitic region, called *Lubdu*, between Tigris and Euphrates is meant.

Aram] the "Syrians" of the A.V.; better called Arameans. They were widely settled in the lands to the N. and N.E. of Palestine, with important centres in Damascus (Syria proper) and the north of the Euphrates valley (the *Aram-Naharaim* of the O.T.). So great and lasting was their influence on Israel that the Aramean dialect eventually superseded Hebrew and was the ordinary language of Palestine in the time of Christ.

Uz] From Gen. x. 23 it appears that in Chron. the words "And the children of Aram[1]" have dropped out, so that "Uz" etc. appear as the immediate descendants of Shem.

Neither Uz nor the three following names have been satisfactorily identified. For "Meshech" Gen. x. 23 (Heb. but *not* LXX.) reads "Mash."

18—23 (=Gen. x. 24—29). APPENDIX TO THE SONS OF SHEM. SOUTH ARABIAN TRIBES.

18. *Eber*] The Heb. word usually means "the land beyond" and may have originated as a personification of the population beyond the Euphrates. It is further possible that Eber is an eponym, not merely of the Hebrews, but of the Habiri, a much wider stock of Semitic nomads, of whom the Hebrews formed an element, and who overran and harassed the settled peoples of Palestine in the fifteenth cent. B.C.

19. *two sons*] one (Peleg) representing, roughly speaking, the northern or Mesopotamian Semites; the other (Joktan), the south Arabian tribes.

[1] The Alexandrine MS. (A) of the LXX. has the words.

name of the one was Peleg; for in his days the earth was
20 divided; and his brother's name was Joktan. And Joktan
begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah;
21 22 and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah; and [1]Ebal, and
23 Abimael, and Sheba; and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab.
All these were the sons of Joktan.
24, 25 26 Shem, Arpachshad, Shelah; Eber, Peleg, Reu; Serug,
27 28 Nahor, Terah; Abram (the same is Abraham). The sons
of Abraham; Isaac, and Ishmael.
29 These are their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael,
30 Nebaioth; then Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, Mishma,
31 and Dumah, Massa; Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish,
and Kedemah. These are the sons of Ishmael.

[1] In Gen. x. 28, *Obal.*

Peleg] see below on ver. 25.

20. *Joktan begat Almodad*] All the names of the sons of Joktan here given, so far as they have been identified, represent peoples situated in S. Arabia or on the W. coast of the Red Sea lying over against S. Arabia. The only familiar name is that of the unidentified Ophir, which possibly but not certainly may be the "El Dorado" to which Solomon sent his fleet for gold.

24—27. The Descent of Abraham from Shem.

These verses are compressed within the smallest limits from Gen. xi. 10—26. For another example of this extreme abbreviation compare vv. 1—4 (=Gen. v. 3—32).

25. *Peleg*] the name perhaps signifies "Division" (see ver. 19), and may refer to some great period of migration among the Semitic tribes.

28—31. The Descent of the Ishmaelite Tribes from Abraham (=Gen. xxv. 12—16).

29. *Nebaioth*] Cp. Is. lx. 7.

Kedar] Is. xxi. 13—17.

30. *Dumah*] Is. xxi. 11.

Massa] Prov. xxxi. 1 (R.V. marg.).

Hadad] The name begins with the Heb. letter *Hēth* and therefore differs from the Hadad of ver. 46 and of ver. 50 and of 2 Chr. xvi. 2 in which the first letter is *Hē*, a softer guttural than *Ḥeth*.

Tema] Is. xxi. 14.

31. *Jetur, Naphish*] cp. v. 18—22.

And the sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine: she 32
bare Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and
Ishbak, and Shuah. And the sons of Jokshan; Sheba, and
Dedan. And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and 33
Hanoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the sons
of Keturah.

And Abraham begat Isaac. The sons of Isaac; Esau, 34
and Israel.

The sons of Esau; Eliphaz, Reuel, and Jeush, and Jalam, 35
and Korah. The sons of Eliphaz; Teman, and Omar, 36
[1]Zephi, and Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna, and Amalek. The 37
sons of Reuel; Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah.

[1] In Gen. xxxvi. 11, *Zepho*.

32, 33. THE DESCENT OF ARABIAN TRIBES FROM ABRAHAM THROUGH KETURAH (=Gen. xxv. 1—4).

32. *Keturah*] called a *wife* of Abraham in Gen. xxv. 1. The Chronicler by calling her a concubine may imply that he considered that the tribes descended from her were not so closely akin to Israel as the Ishmaelites, or possibly he held that Sarah ought to be the only wife of Abraham, and "corrects" his source accordingly.

Medan, Midian] Kindred tribes often bore names only slightly differing in form.

Midian] In Judg. viii. 24 the Midianites are reckoned as Ishmaelites.

Sheba, and Dedan] Sheba and Dedan in ver. 9 (which belongs to the same source P) are included among the Hamitic peoples. Doubtless the names in the present passage, which comes from J, refer to the same tribes; but J follows a different tradition as to their origin. Possibly there is truth in both views, and the people of Sheba were of mixed African and Arabian descent.

33. *Ephah*] Is. lx. 6.

Hanoch] as Gen. xxv. 4. Cp. ver. 3.

34—37. THE DESCENT OF THE TRIBES OF EDOM FROM ABRAHAM. (Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 10—14.)

34. *Esau*] "Esau is Edom," Gen. xxxvi. 1, 8.

36. *Teman*] Amos i. 11, 12; Hab. iii. 13. The word means *South*, and is applied in the first passage to Edom itself, in the second to the wilderness of Edom, both being south of Canaan.

Kenaz] Other references (Judg. i. 13, iii. 9, 11) show a close connection with Caleb, which in turn implies that the Calebites were closely related to the Edomites (cp. iv. 13).

Amalek] the eponymous ancestor of the Amalekites who lived in the south and south-east of Palestine, see iv. 42 f.

38 And the sons of Seir; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and
39 Anah, and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan. And the sons of
Lotan; Hori and [1]Homam: and Timna was Lotan's sister.
40 The sons of Shobal; [2]Alian and Manahath and Ebal, [3]Shephi
and Onam. And the sons of Zibeon; Aiah and Anah.
41 The sons of Anah; Dishon. And the sons of Dishon;
42 [4]Hamran and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. The sons
of Ezer; Bilhan and Zaavan, [5]Jaakan. The sons of Dishan;
43 Uz and Aran. Now these are the kings that reigned in the
land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the
children of Israel: Bela the son of Beor; and the name of

[1] In Gen. xxxvi. 22, *Hemam.*
[2] In Gen. xxxvi. 23, *Alvan.*
[3] In Gen. xxxvi. 23, *Shepho.*
[4] In Gen. xxxvi. 26, *Hemdan.*
[5] In Gen. xxxvi. 27, *and Akan.*

38—42. THE GENEALOGY OF THE HORITE INHABITANTS OF SEIR. (Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 20—28.)

38. *The sons of Seir*] Chron. omits the further description given in Gen. "the Horite, the inhabitants of the land," words which show clearly that these "sons of Seir" were not descendants of Esau, but aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

Lotan] perhaps to be connected with Lot, a name anciently associated with the land or people dwelling E. of the Jordan (cf. Gen. xix. 30).

40. *Aiah and Anah*] See Gen. xxxvi. 24.

43—51 a. THE EARLY KINGS OF EDOM. (Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 31—39.)

43. *kings*] Note that the kings are of different families and localities. They may be compared with the "judges" of early Israel.

in the land of Edom] In early times the mountainous region of Seir, extending from the S.E. of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akaba, but the precise territory of the Edomites is uncertain and of course must have varied from time to time. In the post-exilic period Edomites (Idumeans) pressed up into the south of Judah (cp. ii. 42), and Edom (Idumea) continued to play an important and often sinister part in the history of Israel till long after the Chronicler's lifetime. See (e.g.) 1 Macc. v. 65; 2 Macc. x. 14—17. The Herods were of Edomite descent.

before...Israel] i.e. before Saul; or possibly "before David," if the phrase means before the reign of the first Israelitish king over Edom. For the use made of this statement in the discussion of the date of the Hexateuch, see Chapman, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, p. 40, in this series.

Bela the son of Beor] possibly the same as the familiar Balaam son of

his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died, and Jobab the son 44
of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, 45
and Husham of the land of the Temanites reigned in his
stead. And Husham died, and Hadad the son of Bedad, 46
which smote Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his
stead: and the name of his city was Avith. And Hadad 47
died, and Samlah of Masrekah reigned in his stead. And 48
Samlah died, and Shaul of Rehoboth by the River reigned
in his stead. And Shaul died, and Baal-hanan the son of 49
Achbor reigned in his stead. And Baal-hanan died, and 50
[1] Hadad reigned in his stead; and the name of his city was
[2] Pai: and his wife's name was Mehetabel, the daughter of
Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab. And Hadad died. 51
And the dukes of Edom were; duke Timna, duke [3] Aliah,
duke Jetheth; duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; 52
duke Kenaz, duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel, 53
duke Iram. These are the dukes of Edom. 54

[1] In Gen. xxxvi. 39, *Hadar*. [2] In Gen. xxxvi. 39, *Pau*.
[3] In Gen. xxxvi. 40, *Alvah*.

Beor, the consonants of the names differing in Heb. only by the final *m*. See, however, Gray, *Numbers* (*I.C.C.*), pp. 315, 324.

46. *smote Midian in the field of Moab*] An isolated historical notice, interesting as showing the power of Edom at some period. The Midianites centred round the lands E. of the Gulf of Akaba, but bands of them were constantly pushing northwards and harassing the territories of Edom, Moab, and Israel (cf. Num. xxii. 4; Judg. vi.; etc.).

48. *Rehoboth by the River*] not "the River," *par excellence* (i.e. the Euphrates), as the R.V. translators supposed; but either the *Wady el-Arish*, the stream on the boundary of Egypt or Palestine; or else a river in N. Edom, Rehoboth being distinguished from other places of the same name by being the city on its banks.

50. *Hadad*] As in ver. 46; in Gen. xxxvi. 39, "Hadar." Possibly the king whom David overthrew, 2 Sam. viii. 14, cp. 1 Kin. xi. 14 (perhaps a son of this Hadad).

51 a. *And Hadad died*] repeated by a copyist's error from ver. 47; the words are not found in Genesis.

51 b—54. THE "DUKES" OF EDOM. (Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 40—43.)

51 b. *dukes*] The word means "leader of a thousand." The list which follows is probably topographical, not chronological. It seems to give the names of the districts into which Edom was divided at the time when the list was drawn up.

duke Timna, etc.] Render, **the duke of Timna**, etc.

Aliah] In Gen. xxxvi. 40, "Alvah."

2 These are the sons of Israel; Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and
2 Judah, Issachar and Zebulun; Dan, Joseph and Benjamin,
Naphtali, Gad and Asher.
3 The sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah: which
three were born unto him of Bath-shua the Canaanitess.
And Er, Judah's firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the
4 LORD; and he slew him. And Tamar his daughter in law
bare him Perez and Zerah. All the sons of Judah were five.
5 6 The sons of Perez; Hezron and Hamul. And the sons of

CHAPTERS II.—VIII. THE GENEALOGIES OF THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

Attention is now narrowed down to those in the true line of descent, from Abraham through Isaac ("in Isaac shall thy seed be called," Gen. xxi. 12) and from Isaac through Jacob = Israel, Gen. xxxii. 28 (cp. Gen. xxvi. 2—4).

The Chronicler deals very unequally with the tribes in their genealogies; as the following table shows:

ii. 1—iv. 23. Judah (102 verses).
iv. 24—43. Simeon (20 verses).
v. 1—26. Reuben, Gad, and Eastern Manasseh (26 verses).
vi. 1—81. Levi (81 verses).
vii. 1—40. Issachar, Zebulun, and Dan (according to a correction of the text, vii. 6—11, and 12), Naphtali, Eastern Manasseh (again), Ephraim, and Asher (40 verses).
viii. 1—40. Benjamin (40 verses).

It may easily be seen that the tribes in which the Chronicler is really interested are the three southern tribes, Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, together with the priestly tribe, Levi.

The order in which the tribes are mentioned is geographical, Judah and Simeon the southern tribes first, then the eastern tribes, Reuben, Gad, Manasseh; then (conveniently) Levi, and then the northern tribes of western Palestine, ending with Benjamin (viii., ix. 35—44) and the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (in ix. 1—34).

CH. II. 1, 2. THE SONS OF ISRAEL. (Cp. Gen. xxxv. 22*b*—26.)

II. 3—IV. 23. GENEALOGIES OF JUDAH.

3—17. DESCENDANTS OF JUDAH TO THE SONS OF JESSE.

5. *The sons of Perez; Hezron and Hamul*] So Gen. xlvi. 12. The only reference in the O.T. to Hamulites is Num. xxvi. 21. On the other hand Hezron, a south Judean tribe (Jos. xv. 3), is a clan of the first importance in the genealogies. From Hezron are descended not only the family of David (ver. 15), but also the great Calebite and Jerahmeelite clans (vv. 18—24, 25—33, etc.). The name *Hezron* might bear the significance "an enclosed place" as opposed to movable

Zerah; [1]Zimri, and Ethan, and Heman, and Calcol, and [2]Dara: five of them in all. And the sons of Carmi; [3]Achar, 7
the troubler of Israel, who committed a trespass in the 8
devoted thing. And the sons of Ethan; Azariah. The 9
sons also of Hezron, that were born unto him; Jerahmeel, and Ram, and Chelubai. And Ram begat Amminadab; 10

[1] In Josh. vii. 1, *Zabdi*. [2] Many ancient authorities read, *Darda*. See 1 Kings iv. 31. [3] In Josh. vii. 1, *Achan*.

encampments, and *Atarah* (ver. 26) who is said to be the mother of certain Jerahmeelite families has much the same meaning. Both names therefore may not be eponymous either of individuals or places, but may originate in the desire to preserve the fact that the families named as their sons were nomads who had abandoned wandering for settled life. If so, it might help to explain the fact that Hezron (cp. *Carmi*, ii. 7, iv. 1, v. 3) is also mentioned as a son of Reuben (v. 3; Gen. xlvi. 9, etc.).

6. *the sons of Zerah*] This genealogy appears only in Chron.

Zimri] LXX. (B) Ζαμβρεί (β being merely euphonic) here and also Josh. vii. 1 where Heb. has "Zabdi." LXX. is probably right in identifying the two. Either form might arise from the other by easy textual corruption.

Ethan...Dara] Read, **Darda** with Vulg., Targ., Pesh. The same four names in the same order occur 1 Kings iv. 31 as the names of wise men whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom. They are there called sons of "Mahol" who may have been either a nearer or remoter ancestor than Zerah. Ethan however is there called the Ezrahite (=probably "son of Zerah"). [Pss. lxxxviii., lxxxix. bear respectively the names "Heman the Ezrahite," "Ethan the Ezrahite," but these (it seems) were *Levites* (cp. xv. 17, 19, where see note).]

7. *the sons of Carmi*] Carmi is probably to be taken as the son of Zimri (=Zabdi, Josh. vii. 1). Targ. however has "Carmi who is Zimri." See note on *Zimri*, ver. 6.

Achar] This form of the name (instead of "Achan," Josh. vii. 1) is used by the Chronicler to bring out better the play on the Heb. word for "troubler." The Heb. runs, "Achar ocher Israel."

9. *Jerahmeel*] For his descendants see vv. 25—41. The descendants of his younger brother Ram are given first. They purport to be the ancestry of David and his family.

Chelubai] Another form of "Caleb"; see note on ver. 42.

10. *Ram*] The descent of David from Judah is given also in Ruth iv. 18—22 and Matt. i. 3—6. *Ram* as a clan parallel with the great clans of Caleb and Jerahmeel is strange; for it is not known otherwise in the O.T. Further, as the descendants of Ram given in vv. 10—12 are the family tree of David (contrast the clans and cities in the lines of Caleb and Jerahmeel) it may be supposed that Ram owes his position here simply to the Chronicler's desire to incorporate Ruth iv. 19, where also this pedigree of David is given. Note also that in

and Amminadab begat Nahshon, prince of the children of
11 Judah; and Nahshon begat Salma, and Salma begat Boaz;
12 and Boaz begat Obed, and Obed begat Jesse; and Jesse
13 begat his firstborn Eliab, and Abinadab the second, and
14 Shimea the third; Nethanel the fourth, Raddai the fifth;
15 Ozem the sixth, David the seventh: and their sisters were
16 Zeruiah and Abigail. And the sons of Zeruiah; [1]Abishai,
17 and Joab, and Asahel, three. And Abigail bare Amasa:
18 and the father of Amasa was Jether the Ishmaelite. And
Caleb the son of Hezron begat *children* of Azubah *his* wife,

[1] Heb. *Abshai.*

ver. 25 a *Ram* is mentioned as a son of Jerahmeel and grandson of Hezron.

Nahshon, prince, etc.] See Num. i. 4, 7, ii. 3.

13. *Shimea*] so also xx. 7; but "Shammah" 1 Sam. xvi. 9.

14. *Nethanel*] the same name as Nathanael (John i. 45). The fourth, fifth and sixth brothers are not elsewhere named.

15. *David the seventh*] Jesse had eight sons (1 Sam. xvii. 12; cp. xvi. 10, 11). Here one seems deliberately passed over, perhaps because he had no children. (The Elihu "one of David's brethren" of 1 Chr. xxvii. 18 is probably to be identified with Eliab and not to be regarded as an eighth brother.)

16. *sons of Zeruiah*] Joab and his brothers are always thus named after their mother; perhaps their father died while they were young, or we may have a relic here of the ancient method of tracing kinship through the mother.

17. *the Ishmaelite*] 2 Sam. xvii. 25, "the Israelite," an error yielding no satisfactory sense.

18—24. DESCENDANTS OF CALEB. (Cp. vv. 42—55.)

18. *Caleb*] a clan dwelling in southern Judea, and probably distinct from Judah in the time of David (1 Sam. xxv. 3, xxx. 14). Other references to them or rather their reputed founder Caleb ben Jephunneh the Kenizzite (Num. xxxii. 12; Jos. xiv. 6, 14; 1 Chr. i. 36, where see note on *Kenaz*) point to an original connection with the Edomites. Their importance in these lists is explained by the fact that they were incorporated in Judah, and, after the exile, occupied townships close to Jerusalem (vv. 50—55) "forming possibly the bulk of the tribe in post-exilic Judah, since the Chronicler knows so few other families" (Curtis, *Chron.* p. 89). See also W. R. Smith, *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 279 *ad fin.*

begat children *of Azubah* his *wife, and of Jerioth*] the Heb. seems to be corrupt. Read perhaps **begat children of Azubah, his wife, daughter of Jerioth**; or **took Azubah the wife of Jerioth.** The name *Azubah=forsaken* is significant: see the note on ver. 42, *Caleb, ad fin.*

and of Jerioth: and these were her sons; Jesher, and Shobab, and Ardon. And Azubah died, and Caleb took 19
unto him Ephrath, which bare him Hur. And Hur begat 20
Uri, and Uri begat Bezalel. And afterward Hezron went in 21
to the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead; whom he took *to wife* when he was threescore years old; and she bare him Segub. And Segub begat Jair, who had three and 22
twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And Geshur and Aram 23
took [1]the towns of Jair from them, with Kenath, and the

[1] Or, *Havvoth-jair*

20. *Bezalel*] the Chronicler is naturally pleased to give prominence in his list to Bezalel, who in Ex. xxx. (P) is mentioned as the artificer of the Tabernacle.

21. The table of Caleb is broken off at this point to introduce vv. 21—23 a statement of further descendants of Hezron (ver. 9) by another wife, the daughter of Machir. The interruption is not unnatural, for it is convenient to refer to Hezron's "son of old age" immediately before the notice of his death (ver. 24).

Machir] the most important clan of Manasseh (cp. Num. xxvi. 29; Jud. v. 14). The affinity of Judean Hezronites with members of the tribe of Manasseh, implied by this verse, is surprising. Whether the tradition has a basis in fact, or arose through some genealogical confusion, cannot as yet be determined. There is however considerable evidence in favour of the view that the relationship between Machir and Caleb is at least "no isolated detail, still less is it the invention of the Chronicler's age," and there may be real historical ground for a tradition that besides the northern movement of the Hezronites upwards to Judah there was also at some time a movement across the northern end of Edom into the lands east of Jordan, ending in the settlements of Machir and Jair in Gilead here recorded; cp. Num. xxxii. 39, and for discussion of the problem see Cook, *Notes on O.T. History*, pp. 92, 93, etc.

22. *Jair*] one of the Judges (Judg. x. 3, 4 where thirty cities, not twenty-three, are assigned him).

the land of Gilead] This name is sometimes restricted to that part of the land E. of Jordan which lies S. of the wady Yarmuk. Here, as often, it is applied to all the land E. of Jordan occupied by Israel.

23. *And Geshur and Aram*] Geshur was an Aramean kingdom E. of Jordan on the N.E. border of Manasseh. Aram, commonly translated "Syria" or "the Syrians," probably here signifies the kingdom of which Damascus was the capital. The conquest of Manassite territory by the Arameans ("Syrians") here described probably took place before the days of Ahab, for in his reign they were already established as far south as Ramoth-gilead (1 Kin. xxii. 3).

the towns of Jair] note marg. *Havvoth-jair*, cp. Deut. iii. 14; Judg.

[1]villages thereof, even threescore cities. All these were the
24 sons of Machir the father of Gilead. And after that Hezron
was dead in Caleb-ephrathah, then Abijah Hezron's wife
25 bare him Ashhur the father of Tekoa. And the sons of
Jerahmeel the firstborn of Hezron were Ram the firstborn,
26 and Bunah, and Oren, and Ozem, Ahijah. And Jerahmeel
had another wife, whose name was Atarah; she was the
27 mother of Onam. And the sons of Ram the firstborn of
28 Jerahmeel were Maaz, and Jamin, and Eker. And the sons
of Onam were Shammai, and Jada: and the sons of
29 Shammai; Nadab, and Abishur. And the name of the wife
of Abishur was Abihail; and she bare him Ahban, and
30 Molid. And the sons of Nadab; Seled, and Appaim: but
31 Seled died without [2]children. And the sons of Appaim;
Ishi. And the sons of Ishi; Sheshan. And the sons of

[1] Heb. *daughters.* [2] Or, *sons*

x. 4. The name perhaps means "the tent-villages of Jair" (Arab. *ḥîvâ* = "a collection of tents near together").

24. *And after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-ephrathah*] The Heb. is certainly corrupt, but can easily be emended with the help of the LXX. Read **And after Hezron was dead Caleb went in to Ephrath** (ver. 19) **his father Hezron's wife and she bare him**, etc. Ephrath (= Ephrathah, ver. 50, iv. 4) is a name of Bethlehem (Ruth iv. 11; Mic. v. 2). "The taking of a father's wife signified a claim to inherit the father's possessions (cp. 2 Sam. xvi. 22), and the phrase here expresses the legitimacy of Caleb's residence in northern Judea" (see note on ver. 42).

Ashhur] cp. iv. 4, 5. Ashhur might be a younger brother of Hur (vv. 19, 50); but quite possibly they are one and the same (cp. the contraction of Jehoahaz into Ahaz); see also iv. 5.

the father of Tekoa] i.e. the founder of the town or the eponymous ancestor of its inhabitants. For *Tekoa* see 2 Chr. xx. 20, note.

25—41. The Genealogy of the Jerahmeelites.

25. *Jerahmeel*] In David's time they were, like Caleb, a semi-nomadic clan in the S. of Judah; cp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; xxx. 29. They shared in the northern movements of Caleb (see note on ver. 42), and eventually formed part of the post-exilic Jewish community; hence their records do not appear in earlier parts of the O.T., but are known to the Chronicler.

Ozem, Ahijah] By a slight change in the Heb. we get **Ozem his brother** (so LXX.); cp. xxvi. 20 for a similar confusion of reading.

26. *Atarah*] see note on Hezron, ver. 5.

31. *the sons of Sheshan; Ahlai*] Ahlai is perhaps a gentilic

Sheshan; Ahlai. And the sons of Jada the brother of 32
Shammai; Jether, and Jonathan: and Jether died without
[1]children. And the sons of Jonathan; Peleth, and Zaza. 33
These were the sons of Jerahmeel. Now Sheshan had no 34
sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had a servant, an
Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his 35
daughter to Jarha his servant to wife; and she bare him
Attai. And Attai begat Nathan, and Nathan begat Zabad; 36
and Zabad begat Ephlal, and Ephlal begat Obed; and Obed 37
begat Jehu, and Jehu begat Azariah; and Azariah begat 38 39
Helez, and Helez begat Eleasah; and Eleasah begat Sismai, 40
and Sismai begat Shallum; and Shallum begat Jekamiah, 41
and Jekamiah begat Elishama. And the sons of Caleb the 42

[1] Or, *sons*

name, not the name of an individual, since in ver. 34 Sheshan is said to have had "no sons, but daughters." More probably however the Chronicler is using a different source for vv. 34—41.

34. *an Egyptian*] Heb. Miṣri. Render probably **a Muṣrite**, i.e. inhabitant of the N. Arabian district to the south of Palestine, known as Muṣri and apparently confused at times with Miṣraim (Egypt). For some suggestive conjectures regarding this table of Jarha's descendants see S. A. Cook, *Ency. Bib.* II. 2364.

35. *Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha*] This was equivalent to making his servant his heir. Thus Abraham at first (Gen. xv. 2, 3) regarded Eliezer his steward as his heir. The list of thirteen descendants of Jarha ending with Elishama (ver. 41) is perhaps a proper genealogy: at least the names may be those of individuals, although it is impossible to say why this pedigree of Elishama should have been so carefully preserved (so Curtis). On the other hand Cook (see previous note) regards *Jarha* as perhaps an eponym of *Jerahmeel*, and, connecting *Sheshan* with the Hebronite *Sheshai*, thinks the genealogy may signify a northward movement of Jerahmeel from Muṣri to the district of Hebron.

42—49. THE DESCENDANTS OF CALEB. (Cp. vv. 18—24.)

42. *Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel*] Called *Chelubai* (ver. 9) and *Caleb the son of Hezron* (ver. 18). As eponym of the tribe Caleb is described as "son" of Hezron "son" of Judah, and of course is not to be distinguished from the Caleb son of Jephunneh who is classed as a Kenizzite in various passages (iv. 15; Num. xiii. 6; Jos. xiv. 6).

Important features of the fortunes of the Caleb clan can be discerned from the lists in this chapter, vv. 18—24, 42—50. It appears that at first their seats were in the southern parts of Judah—witness vv. 42—49, in which several of the names, viz. Ziph (Josh. xv. 24 or 55), Mareshah (2 Chr. xi. 8), Hebron, Tappuah (Josh. xv. 34), Maon (Josh. xv. 55),

brother of Jerahmeel were Mesha his firstborn, which was
the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah the father of
43 Hebron. And the sons of Hebron; Korah, and Tappuah,
44 and Rekem, and Shema. And Shema begat Raham, the
45 father of Jorkeam; and Rekem begat Shammai. And the
son of Shammai was Maon; and Maon was the father of
46 Beth-zur. And Ephah, Caleb's concubine, bare Haran, and
47 Moza, and Gazez: and Haran begat Gazez. And the sons
of Jahdai; Regem, and Jotham, and Geshan, and Pelet, and
48 Ephah, and Shaaph. Maacah, Caleb's concubine, bare
49 Sheber and Tirhanah. She bare also Shaaph the father of
Madmannah, Sheva the father of Machbena, and the father
50 of Gibea; and the daughter of Caleb was Achsah. These
were the sons of Caleb; the [1]son of Hur, the firstborn of

[1] The Sept. has, *sons.*

and Beth-zur (Josh. xv. 58) are names of towns in the S. or S.W. of Judah. From these, their pre-exilic homes, they were driven northwards, and during the exilic period and afterwards they occupied many of the townships not far from Jerusalem, e.g. Bethlehem (see vv. 50—55). Apart from the names in vv. 50—55, we have a testimony to this northward movement in ver. 24 (where see note), and probably also in ver. 18, where the names *Jerioth* (*tents*) and *Azubah* (*forsaken*) hint at the abandonment first of nomadic life and then of the south Judean settlements. This movement was largely no doubt compulsory, under pressure from the Edomites to the south (cp. above i. 43, note) who in their turn were being forced north by a strong and fairly constant encroachment of Arab tribes (see Wellhausen, *De Gentibus*, and more recently Hölscher, *Palästina*, pp. 22, 30, on the importance of such evidence as this notice in Chron. for determining the composition and conditions of Palestine in the post-exilic period).

Mesha] The Moabite king whose deeds are recorded on the Moabite Stone bore this name. LXX. reads *Mareshah* (Μαρεισά) as in the latter part of the verse.

45. *Maon*] Nabal who was a Calebite lived at the town of Maon (1 Sam. xxv. 2, 3). It is improbable that *Maon* was ever used as the name of a person; cp. Buchanan Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 127 f. See note on ver. 42.

49. *the daughter of Caleb was Achsah*] Cp. Judg. i. 12.

50—55. These verses give the post-exilic settlements of the Calebites in the townships of northern Judea, not far from Jerusalem: see ver. 42, note.

50. *the son of Hur*] Read with the LXX., **the sons of Hur.** Hur was the son of Caleb (ver. 19).

the firstborn of Ephrathah] see note ver. 24.

Ephrathah, Shobal the father of Kiriath-jearim; Salma the 51
father of Beth-lehem, Hareph the father of Beth-gader.
And Shobal the father of Kiriath-jearim had sons; Haroeh, 52
half of the Menuhoth. And the families of Kiriath-jearim; the 53
Ithrites, and the Puthites, and the Shumathites, and the Mish-
raites; of them came the Zorathites and the Eshtaolites. The 54
sons of Salma; Beth-lehem, and the Netophathites, Atroth-
beth-Joab, and half of the Manahathites, the Zorites. And 55
the families of scribes which dwelt at Jabez; the Tirathites,
the Shimeathites, the Sucathites. These are the Kenites that
came of Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab.

Now these were the sons of David, which were born unto 3
him in Hebron: the firstborn, Amnon, of Ahinoam the
Jezreelitess; the second, Daniel, of Abigail the Carmelitess;

52. *Haroeh, half of the Menuhoth*] The Heb. is quite obscure, but may perhaps be rendered, **who provided for half the resting-places**, the description applying to Shobal, i.e. his work was to supervise some of the halting stations of the caravans which passed through the territory of Judah. Cp. similar details in iv. 21—23, and the title *Prince of the resting-places* (mg. *quarter-master*) given to Seraiah in Jer. li. 59. Almost certainly, however, the text in the present passage is corrupt, and, following iv. 2 and ver. 54, we may read **Reaiah and half of the Manahathites**. For the latter see below, ver. 54.

53. *Zorathites, Eshtaolites*] for Zorah (*mod.* Surah) and Eshtaol (*mod.* Eshua), cp. Judg. xiii. 25.

54. *Manahathites, the Zorites*] The Manahathites of Zorah must be associated with *Manoah*, the father of Samson, according to the tradition of Judg. xiii. 2, 25, and an inhabitant of Zorah (see Cooke, *Judges*, pp. 131, 138, in this series).

55. *families of scribes*] an indication of post-exilic date.

the Kenites that came of Hammath] or perhaps, **the Kenites who came in** (i.e. who attached themselves to Israel), **who were from Hammath**.

father of the house of Rechab] The verse is somewhat obscure, but it is most probable that the Chronicler preserves a correct tradition in the connection here alleged between the Rechabites and the Kenites. On the ancient zeal for Jehovah displayed by the Rechabites, see 2 Kin. x. 15 ff.; and for their distinctive standpoint, Jer. xxxv.

Ch. III. 1—24. The Genealogy of the House of David.

1—4 (= 2 Sam. iii. 2—5). The Sons born to David in Hebron.

1. *Daniel*] LXX. (B) Δαμνιήλ, (A) Δαλουιά. In 2 Sam. iii. 3 *Chileab*, but LXX. Δαλουιά. The real name of David's second son remains therefore uncertain.

2 the third, Absalom the son of Maacah the daughter of
Talmai king of Geshur; the fourth, Adonijah the son of
3 Haggith; the fifth, Shephatiah of Abital; the sixth, Ithream
4 by Eglah his wife. Six were born unto him in Hebron;
and there he reigned seven years and six months: and in
5 Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years. And these
were born unto him in Jerusalem: Shimea, and Shobab,
and Nathan, and Solomon, four, of Bath-shua the daughter
6, 7 of Ammiel: and Ibhar, and Elishama, and Eliphelet; and
8 Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia; and Elishama, and Eliada,
9 and Eliphelet, nine. All these were the sons of David,

2. *Geshur*] Cp. ii. 23, note.

3. *Eglah his wife*] In 2 Sam. iii. 5 "Eglah David's wife," where however *David* is probably a wrong reading for the name of a previous husband of Eglah.

5—9 (=ch. xiv. 4—7 and 2 Sam. v. 14—16). THE SONS BORN TO DAVID IN JERUSALEM.

5. *Shimea*] in xiv. 4 and 2 Sam. v. 14 (R.V.) *Shammua*.

Nathan] Through him our Lord's descent is traced in Luke iii. 31.

Solomon] Only here are other sons besides Solomon attributed to Bath-sheba.

Bath-shua] is a slight variation in pronunciation of Bath-sheba.

the daughter of Ammiel] of *Eliam* (perhaps a by-form of *Ammiel*) in 2 Sam. xi. 3. An Eliam son of Ahithophel, David's counsellor, is mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii. 34; Bath-sheba may therefore have been grand-daughter to Ahithophel. Notice that the Chronicler does not call Bath-sheba *the wife of Uriah the Hittite*; he nowhere refers to David's great sin; cp. xx. 1—3, where the silence of Chron. on this matter is specially to be noted.

6. *Elishama*] in xiv. 5 and 2 Sam. v. 15 *Elishua*, no doubt the right reading, for otherwise (cp. ver. 8) we have two sons of David named *Elishama*.

Eliphelet] in xiv. 5 *Elpelet*. *Eliphelet* cannot be right, for it occurs again as the name of the thirteenth son in ver. 8. *Elpelet* may be right here and *Eliphelet* in ver. 8, for according to Hebrew custom two brothers might bear names of similar sound and significance. But both Eliphelet and Nogah, the following word, are lacking in 2 Sam. v. 15; and are probably only textual errors due to dittography.

8. *Eliada*] so in 2 Sam. v. 16, but in 1 Chr. xiv. 7 *Beeliada* (i.e. Baaliada, "The Lord—the Baal—knows"). This seems to have been changed to *Eliada* (i.e. God knows), when the title *Baal* had come to have only heathen associations, and was accordingly repudiated by the Jews: see the note on viii. 33.

beside the sons of the concubines; and Tamar was their
sister. And Solomon's son was Rehoboam, Abijah his son, 10
Asa his son, Jehoshaphat his son; Joram his son, Ahaziah 11
his son, Joash his son; Amaziah his son, Azariah his son, 12
Jotham his son; Ahaz his son, Hezekiah his son, Manasseh 13
his son; Amon his son, Josiah his son. And the sons of 14
Josiah; the firstborn Johanan, the second Jehoiakim, the 15
third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum. And the sons of 16
Jehoiakim: Jeconiah his son, Zedekiah his son. And the 17

10—16. The Line of Davidic Kings.

Two things are to be noted in this list: (1) Johanan's name is given in ver. 15, though he was never king, (2) Zedekiah's name appears to be *twice* given, once among the sons of Josiah (ver. 15) and again in his place according to the succession (ver. 16).

10. *Abijah*] called *Abijam* in 1 Kin. xiv. 31, xv. 1 ff. *Abia* is the Greek form of the name; Matt. i. 7 (A.V.).

12. *Azariah*] This king is usually called *Uzziah*, cp. Is. vi. 1; see note on 2 Chr. xxvi. 1.

15. *the firstborn Johanan*] This son of Josiah never came to the throne, nor is anything known of him except from this passage.

Zedekiah] Though reckoned third here, he was younger than Shallum (=Jehoahaz); cp. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 2 (=2 Kings xxiii. 31) with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 11 (=2 Kings xxiv. 18).

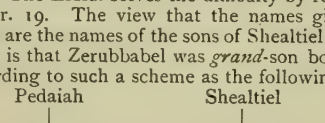
Shallum] To be identified with *Jehoahaz*; cp. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 1 with Jer. xxii. 11.

16. *Jeconiah*] This name is sometimes shortened to *Coniah* (Jer. xxii. 24) and written (with a slight change of meaning) *Jehoiachin* (2 Chr. xxxvi. 8, 9; 2 Kings xxiv. 6 ff.).

Zedekiah his son] Zedekiah was heir, not son, to Jeconiah, whom he succeeded in the kingdom. His relationship to Jeconiah was that of uncle.

17—19 a. The Davidic Line from Jeconiah to Zerubbabel.

Note that whereas Zerubbabel is here represented apparently as the son of Pedaiah and consequently *nephew of Shealtiel* (=*Salathiel*), he is elsewhere called the *son of Shealtiel* (Ezra iii. 2; Hag. i. 1, ii. 2; cp. Luke iii. 27—31). The LXX. solves the difficulty by reading *Salathiel* (=*Shealtiel*) in ver. 19. The view that the names given in ver. 18 (including *Pedaiah*) are the names of the sons of Shealtiel is not probable. Another suggestion is that Zerubbabel was *grand*-son both to Shealtiel and Pedaiah, according to such a scheme as the following:



18 sons of Jeconiah, [1]the captive; Shealtiel his son, and Mal-
chiram, and Pedaiah, and Shenazzar, Jekamiah, Hoshama,
19 and Nedabiah. And the sons of Pedaiah; Zerubbabel, and
Shimei: and the [2]sons of Zerubbabel; Meshullam, and
20 Hananiah; and Shelomith was their sister: and Hashubah,
and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah, Jushab-hesed, five.

[1] Or, *Assir* [2] Heb. *son.*

A minor difficulty that Shealtiel (=Salathiel) is here connected with David through Solomon, whereas in Luke iii. 27—31 his descent is traced through Solomon's brother Nathan, could be explained by an intermarriage at some point in the genealogy between the two Davidic families.

17. *the sons of Jeconiah*] That Jeconiah had sons is not at variance with Jeremiah's denunciation of him (Jer. xxii. 30). That passage gives the answer to Jeconiah's expectation of a speedy return to his kingdom (*ib.* ver. 27); Jeremiah says that neither he nor any of his seed shall recover the lost throne: "Reckon him childless, for no son of his shall succeed him on his throne."

the captive] Heb. *assir*, which the R.V. mg. (=A.V.), following the ancient Versions, has wrongly taken to be a proper name. The R.V. mg. is here only a survival of A.V. The rendering of the text (*the captive*) no doubt expresses the real judgment of the Revisers.

Shealtiel] the Greek form *Salathiel* (A.V.) occurs in Luke iii. 27 (A.V.).

19. *the sons of Zerubbabel*] so the LXX. The Heb. has **son**, as R.V. mg.

19 b—24. The Davidic Line from Zerubbabel.

The text of these verses is very uncertain. In ver. 20 the names of five sons are given, but their father's name (perhaps *Meshullam*) is wanting. In vv. 21, 22 the LXX. differs from the Heb. in such a way as to affect the number of steps in the genealogy; the Heb. seems to reckon but *one* generation between Hananiah and Shemaiah, the LXX. on the contrary reckons *six*; the result on the whole genealogy being that the LXX. counts *eleven* generations after Zerubbabel as against *six* in the Heb. In ver. 22 again the sons of Shemaiah are reckoned to be six, but only *five* names are given in both Heb. and LXX. For the bearing of these verses upon the date of Chronicles, see the Introd. § 3.

20. *and Hashubah*] Perhaps we should read "The sons of Meshullam: Hashubah." See above.

Jushab-hesed] The name means "Mercy is restored." Many such significant names are found in the present list, and, in general, are characteristic of the exilic and later periods.

And the [1]sons of Hananiah; Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah: the 21
sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the
sons of Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah; Shemaiah: 22
and the sons of Shemaiah; Hattush, and Igal, and Bariah,
and Neariah, and Shaphat, six. And the [1]sons of Neariah; 23
Elioenai, and Hizkiah, and Azrikam, three. And the sons 24
of Elioenai; Hodaviah, and Eliashib, and Pelaiah, and
Akkub, and Johanan, and Delaiah, and Anani, seven.

The sons of Judah; Perez, Hezron, and Carmi, and Hur, **4**
and Shobal. And Reaiah the son of Shobal begat Jahath; 2
and Jahath begat Ahumai and Lahad. These are the

[1] Heb. *son.*

21. *and Jeshaiah...Shecaniah*] The LXX. reads (with some blunders in reproducing the names), "and Jeshaiah his son, Rephaiah his son, Arnan his son, Obadiah his son, Shecaniah his son," thus adding five steps to the genealogy. The difference of reading in the Heb. text thus suggested is very slight. It is quite uncertain whether the Heb. or the reading of the LXX. is to be preferred: see the Introd. § 3, A 2.

23. *Elioenai*] A name meaning, "Mine eyes are towards Jehovah," cp. Ps. xxv. 15; cp. *Jushab-hesed* (ver. 20) and *Hodaviah* ("Give thanks to Jehovah"=Hoduiah), ver. 24.

Ch. IV. 1—23. Genealogies of the Tribes of Judah. (Cp. ii. 3 ff.)

The material contained in these verses gives rise to no little perplexity, not only in itself but also when considered along with the genealogies of Judah in ii. 3 ff. Whether the Chronicler himself could have thrown any light on the points which puzzle us may well be doubted: he was more concerned to preserve all available genealogical matter than to consider or attempt to reconcile conflicting elements. Both the date and relationship of these notices must be confessed to be as yet uncertain, opinion being divided even on the question whether the list represents pre-exilic or post-exilic conditions. Remark that the list is essentially a Calebite one.

1. As Hezron was the son of Perez (ch. ii. 5) and (if the LXX. be right) Shobal was the son of Hur (ii. 50, note), we have in this verse five, if not six, generations.

Carmi] for the name, cp. ii. 7, and v. 3. Here, however, Carmi is certainly an error for **Caleb**: see ii. 4, 5, 9, 50 and also the structure of the present chapter. Thus in accord with the usual practice of the Chronicler the chief ancestors are first named (ver. 1), and then, in *reverse* order, their descendants—sons of Shobal and Hur (vv. 2—10), and sons of Chelub (=Caleb) (vv. 11—15).

2. *Reaiah*] Cp. note on ii. 52.

3 families of the Zorathites. And these were *the sons of* the
father of Etam; Jezreel, and Ishma, and Idbash: and
4 the name of their sister was Hazzelelponi: and Penuel the
father of Gedor, and Ezer the father of Hushah. These
are the sons of Hur, the firstborn of Ephrathah, the father
5 of Beth-lehem. And Ashhur the father of Tekoa had two
6 wives, Helah and Naarah. And Naarah bare him Ahuzzam,
and Hepher, and Temeni, and Haahashtari. These were
7 the sons of Naarah. And the sons of Helah were Zereth,
8 [1]Izhar, and Ethnan. And Hakkoz begat Anub, and Zo-
9 bebah, and the families of Aharhel the son of Harum. And
Jabez was more honourable than his brethren: and his

[1] Another reading is, *and Zohar.*

the Zorathites] Cp. note on ii. 53.

3. *these were* the sons of *the father of Etam*] The Heb. has not got the words *the sons of*, and is certainly corrupt. The LXX. reads, *These were the sons of Etam*. Correction is difficult, largely owing to the obscurity of Etam. If Etam had been named as a son of Shobal in ver. 2, we might follow the LXX. It is perhaps best to suppose that Etam begins the list of descendants of Hur, and to read "these were **the sons of Hur** the father of Etam." Etam was a place, but whether near Bethlehem (the *Etam* of 2 Chr. xi. 6) or in southern Judah (the Simeonite *Etam* of ver. 32) is uncertain.

4. *Hur*] the first born of Ephrathah (= Ephrath) one of the wives of Caleb (ii. 19). Hur was *father of Bethlehem* through his son Salma (ii. 50, 51, LXX.). For the name of the city cp. Gen. xxxv. 19 (*Ephrath the same* is *Bethlehem*) and Mic. v. 2 (R.V. *Thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah*).

5. *Ashhur the father of Tekoa*] Ashhur is probably only a variant of Hur (see note ii. 24). Hur then is the exilic or post-exilic "father" (founder) of the Calebite population of Tekoa (5 miles from Bethlehem), and of Bethlehem, etc., through his sons (ii. 50—52).

Helah and Naarah] Neither the names of the wives nor those of the children yield any certain information.

8. *And Hakkoz*] But Heb. **Koz**. The absence of connection with the preceding verse is striking. Perhaps Koz was properly one of the sons of Helah (ver. 7), and a motive for the severance of his name may be found in the wish to make less obvious his Calebite (i e. non-Levitical) origin, in case he were identified with the priestly Hakkoz of xxiv. 10; Ez. ii. 61, a family who were unable to prove an untainted pedigree.

9. The connection of this verse also does not appear. According to Targ. (on ver. 13) *Jabez* = *Othniel*, the nephew or brother of Caleb.

And Jabez, etc.] Render, **And Jabez came to be honoured above his brethren, but his mother had called his name Jabez, saying, Because**

mother called his name Jabez, saying, Because I bare him with sorrow. And Jabez called on the God of Israel, saying, 10
Oh that thou wouldest bless me indeed, and enlarge my border, and that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldest keep me from evil, that it be not to my sorrow! And God granted him that which he requested.
And Chelub the brother of Shuhah begat Mehir, which was 11
the father of Eshton. And Eshton begat Beth-rapha, and 12
Paseah, and Tehinnah the father of [1]Ir-nahash. These are the men of Recah. And the sons of Kenaz; Othniel, and 13
Seraiah: and the sons of Othniel; Hathath. And Meono- 14
thai begat Ophrah: and Seraiah begat Joab the father of [2]Ge-harashim; for they were craftsmen. And the sons of 15
Caleb the son of Jephunneh; Iru, Elah, and Naam: and

[1] Or, *the city of Nahash* [2] Or, *the valley of craftsmen*

I bare him with pain. *Jabez* suggests a somewhat similar word spelt with the same consonants but in a different order, and meaning "he giveth pain." The stylistic similarity between this verse and many passages in Genesis (e.g. Gen. xxx.) cannot fail to be noticed, and it is important to observe that a tradition of this popular character was current in the style of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis in the Chronicler's time. Cp. also vii. 23. The man with the ill-omened name staved off ill-fortune by his prayer which is given in the following verse.

10. *that thou wouldest keep me from evil*] Lit. *that thou wouldest make...from evil.* The Heb. is therefore strange, though not indefensible. Perhaps some words have fallen out, and it may originally have read somewhat as follows, *that thou wouldest make* [*room* (merḥābh) *for me, and wouldest redeem* (phādīthā) *me*] *from evil.*

that it be not to my sorrow] or **so that no pain befall me.**

11—15. Sons of Caleb; for *Chelub* (ver. 11)=Caleb (see on ii. 9, 42).

12. *These are the men of Recah*] Recah is unknown. Perhaps the true reading is that of the LXX. (B), *the men of Rechab*, i.e. Rechabite families; cp. ii. 55, note.

13. *Othniel*] Eponym of a Kenizzite clan, closely connected with the Calebites. Cp. note on i. 36, and Judg. i. 13 and iii. 9—11.

14. *Meonothai*] perhaps a son of Othniel.

Ge-harashim] or, as mg., **the valley of craftsmen.** It is mentioned Neh. xi. 35 along with *Lod* (the *Lydda* of Acts ix. 32) and therefore was probably near Lydda.

15. *Caleb the son of Jephunneh*] Cp. ii. 42, note.

16 the sons of Elah; and Kenaz. And the sons of Jehallelel;
17 Ziph, and Ziphah, Tiria, and Asarel. And the sons of
Ezrah; Jether, and Mered, and Epher, and Jalon: and she
bare Miriam, and Shammai, and Ishbah the father of
18 Eshtemoa. And his wife [1]the Jewess bare Jered the father
of Gedor, and Heber the father of Soco, and Jekuthiel the
father of Zanoah. And these are the sons of Bithiah the
19 daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took. And the sons of
the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham, were the father of

[1] Or, *Hajehudijah*

the sons of Elah ; and Kenaz] The *sons of Elah* and *Kenaz* seem to be co-ordinated, as each represented a family descended from Caleb; but perhaps the text is faulty.

16—20. The connection of these names with Judah does not appear. In accordance with the structure of this section (see note on Carmi, ver. 1) we might expect here to find "the sons of Hezron or Perez"; and, since the relationship between Jehallelel (16) and Ezrah (17) is not indicated, it has been suggested that we should insert in ver. 16 "And the sons of Perez and Jehallelel and Ezrah." No certainty can be felt in the matter.

Ziph] in south Judah, 1 Sam. xxiii. 15. Ziphah, a fem. form of the same name.

17. *and Jalon: and she bare Miriam*] As the text stands *she* has no antecedent. It has therefore been proposed to transfer from ver. 18 the words *And these are the sons of Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took*, and put them after *Jalon*. Bithiah then appears as the mother of *Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah*, and the difficulty of the absence of her sons' names from ver. 18 disappears. For *father of Eshtemoa* see ii. 24 note, and for *Eshtemoa* see Josh. xxi. 14.

18. *his wife*] the wife of Mered, if the transposition mentioned in the last note be accepted.

his wife the Jewess] so called in contrast to his Egyptian wife.

Gedor] Cp. ver. 4, where a different person is perhaps by a different tradition called father of Gedor. *Gedor* is to be identified with the ruins of Jedur on the road between Jerusalem and Hebron, cp. ver. 39.

Soco...Zanoah] The Soco (Jos. xv. 48) and Zanoah (Jos. xv. 56) here mentioned were situated to the S.W. of Hebron. They are to be distinguished from a Soco near the valley of Elah (Jos. xv. 35, 2 Chr. xi. 7, xxviii. 18) and Zanoah near Beth-shemesh (Jos. xv. 34).

these are the sons of Bithiah] See note on ver. 17. A "daughter of Pharaoh" is somewhat strange in such surroundings. For an interesting emendation and interpretation, see Macalister, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1905, p. 252.

Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maacathite. And 20
the sons of Shimon; Amnon, and Rinnah, Ben-hanan, and
Tilon. And the sons of Ishi; Zoheth, and Ben-zoheth.
The sons of Shelah the son of Judah; Er the father of 21
Lecah, and Laadah the father of Mareshah, and the families
of the house of them that wrought fine linen, of the house
of Ashbea; and Jokim, and the men of Cozeba, and Joash, 22
and Saraph, who had dominion in Moab, and Jashubi-lehem.
And the [1]records are ancient. These were the potters, and 23
[2]the inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah: there they dwelt
with the king for his work.

[1] Heb. *words.* [2] Or, *those that dwelt among plantations and hedges*

19. *Keilah*] a town of the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 44), the scene of one of David's exploits (1 Sam. xxiii. 1—5).

Eshtemoa the Maacathite] The epithet distinguishes this Eshtemoa from that of ver. 17. *The Maacathite* may mean the descendant of Maacah (ii. 48), the concubine of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel.

21—23. These verses purport to give some fragmentary information of the descendants of *Shelah*. It must be owned that they are most obscure, and much more difficult than they appear at first. In the *P. E. F. S.*, 1905, pp. 243 ff., 328 ff., R. A. S. Macalister gives a highly ingenious reinterpretation of this passage in the light of certain jar handles inscribed with names similar to those mentioned here and in certain other passages of the Chronicler's genealogies; and conjectures that throughout the chapter we have a (mutilated) genealogy of a family of craftsmen, tracing descent from two individuals, a Jerahmeel and a Caleb. In a text so obscure it is no objection that the theory involves several textual emendations, and is too intricate for further treatment here. It is rejected by Driver, *Modern Research*, p. 77.

21. *Shelah*] mentioned in ii. 3 as a son of Judah. As there is no reference to him in iv. 1, perhaps these difficult verses are an addition. For other references to his descendants, see ix. 5, Neh. xi. 5.

Mareshah] ii. 42; 2 Chr. xi. 8; Josh. xv. 44 (mentioned with Keilah). A town in the south of Judah.

the house of Ashbea] Nothing is known of such a family. Render perhaps *Beth-Ashbea*, but the place is otherwise unknown.

22. *and Joash, and Saraph, who*, etc.] We find no other trace of these two as rulers of Moab. The Targ. fancifully identified them with Mahlon and Chilion of Ruth i. 2, 4. For a conjecture as to the cause of their presence in Moab, see Macalister, *loc. cit.* p. 340.

and Jashubi-lehem] render, with *Vulg.*, **who returned to Bethlehem**, a translation which requires only an easy emendation of the present Hebrew text.

23. *there they dwelt with the king for his work*] In the days of the

24 The sons of Simeon; [1]Nemuel, and Jamin, [2]Jarib, [3]Zerah,
25 Shaul: Shallum his son, Mibsam his son, Mishma his son.
26 And the sons of Mishma: Hammuel his son, Zaccur his
27 son, Shimei his son. And Shimei had sixteen sons and six daughters; but his brethren had not many children, neither did all their family multiply, like to the children of Judah.
28 And they dwelt at Beer-sheba, and Moladah, and Hazar-
29 shual; and at Bilhah, and at Ezem, and at Tolad; and at
30
31 Bethuel, and at Hormah, and at Ziklag; and at Beth-marcaboth, and Hazar-susim, and at Beth-biri, and at Shaaraim.
32 These were their cities unto the reign of David. And their

[1] In Gen. xlvi. 10, Ex. vi. 15, *Jemuel.* [2] In Gen. xlvi. 10, *Jachin.* [3] In Gen. xlvi. 10, *Zohar.*

kingdom the families were clients of the king and did his work; cp. 1 Kin. vii. 46. The simplicity of this statement seems to have been a stumbling-block to the early translators who paraphrase; LXX., *They were strong in his kingdom and dwelt there:* Targ., *They made their dwelling there with the Shekinah of the King of the World for the practice of the Law.*

24—27. The Genealogy of Simeon.

24—27. *The sons of Simeon*] With unimportant variations in the names, the five sons of Simeon are mentioned also in Gen. xlvi. 10, Ex. vi. 15, and Num. xxvi. 12, 13. A sixth son, Ohad, is given by the list in Genesis. As the mother of one, Shaul, was a Canaanitess (Gen. xlvi. 10) and Mibsam and Mishma are also reckoned Ishmaelites (i. 29, 30), the tribe of Simeon contained marked non-Israelite elements. This is the more natural by reason of its location in the extreme south of Palestine.

27. *six daughters*] LXX. *three daughters.*

28—33 (=Josh. xix. 2—8). The Territory of Simeon.

28. *Beer-sheba*] at the southern extremity of Palestine, as Dan was at the northern (1 Sam. iii. 20).

29. *Tolad*] In Josh. xix. 4 *Eltolad.*

30. *Bethuel*] Cp. Gen. xxii. 22. In Josh. xix. 4 *Bethul.* In 1 Sam. xxx. 27 *Bethel* (not the famous Bethel near Jerusalem).

Hormah] Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 3; Judg. i. 17.

Ziklag] 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. The site is not certainly identified.

31. *Beth-marcaboth ... Hazar-susim*] perhaps royal chariot-cities, 1 Kin. ix. 19. The names mean *House of chariots* and *Court of horses.*

Shaaraim] 1 Sam. xvii. 52.

These were their cities unto the reign of David] either a reference to David's census; or else it is implied that these cities ceased to belong

villages were Etam, and Ain, Rimmon, and Tochen, and Ashan, five cities: and all their villages that were round 33
about the same cities, unto Baal. These were their habitations, and they have their genealogy. And Meshobab, and 34
Jamlech, and Joshah the son of Amaziah; and Joel, and 35
Jehu the son of Joshibiah, the son of Seraiah, the son of Asiel; and Elioenai, and Jaakobah, and Jeshohaiah, and 36
Asaiah, and Adiel, and Jesimiel, and Benaiah; and Ziza the 37
son of Shiphi, the son of Allon, the son of Jedaiah, the son of Shimri, the son of Shemaiah; these mentioned by name 38
were princes in their families: and their fathers' houses increased greatly. And they went to the entering in of 39
Gedor, even unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture

to Simeon after David's day. The clause breaks the connection of vv. 31, 32; and is perhaps a late gloss.

32. *And their villages were Etam*] more probably **and their villages** (end of ver. 31). **Etam**, etc. (continuing the list of cities as in ver. 31). By *villages* (*ḥăṣērīm*) are meant small hamlets dependent on larger towns and generally unwalled (Lev. xxv. 31).

Ain, Rimmon] so also in the parallel passage, Josh. xix. 7; but certainly only one place is meant, *Ain-Rimmon* (see the commentaries on Josh. xv. 42 and xix. 7). The number of the cities here ought therefore to be reckoned four, not five.

33. *unto Baal*] *Baal* ("lord") standing by itself is an unlikely name for a town. Read *Baalath-beer, Ramah of the South* ("the mistress of the well, the high place of the South"), as in Josh. xix. 8.

34—43. The Heroes of Simeon and their Exploits.

It seems probable that the exploits mentioned in these verses are derived from some old, though obscure, tradition, and are therefore of historical value for the movements of the tribe of Simeon. Apparently we are to understand that in the time of Hezekiah a band of the wild semi-nomadic tribe of Simeon made a successful raid upon a fertile valley near Gerar (a correction for *Gedor*, see ver. 39), a township on the Philistine border, taking by surprise its peaceful population who were partly Canaanites, partly settlers who had come originally from a place *Maon* (see ver. 41). *Gedor*, the reading of the Heb. text, was a town just north of Hebron. A raid by Simeonites on such a town is a startling, but not incredible, episode in Hezekiah's time; but see also note on ver. 40. Finally vv. 42, 43 record a further assault by Simeonites, this time against Edomite territory. For full discussion see Hogg in *Ency. Bib.* IV. 4527 ff.; also Macalister, *P. E. F. S.*, 1905, 335 ff.

38. *their fathers' houses*] See note on ch. v. 13.

39. *the entering in of Gedor*] Cp. ver. 18. The Gedor of Josh.

40 for their flocks. And they found fat pasture and good, and
the land was wide, and quiet, and peaceable; for they that
41 dwelt there aforetime were of Ham. And these written by
name came in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and
smote their tents, and the Meunim that were found there,
and [1]destroyed them utterly, unto this day, and dwelt in
their stead: because there was pasture there for their flocks.
42 And some of them, even of the sons of Simeon, five hundred
men, went to mount Seir, having for their captains Pelatiah,
and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi.
43 And they smote the remnant of the Amalekites that escaped,
and dwelt there, unto this day.

[1] Heb. *devoted them.*

xv. 58 is identified with *Jedur*, *Ijdur* (north of Hebron, Bädeker, *Palestine*[5], p. 112). See Macalister, *loc. cit.*, 335. LXX. has *Gerar* (cp. Gen. xx. 1; xxvi. 1), on the Philistine border.

40. *they...of Ham*] i.e. Canaanites, who had long been settled in the district (cp. the security felt by the people of Laish, Judg. xviii. 27). Their presence would seem natural in *Gerar* on the Philistine border but strange in *Gedor* near Hebron. If therefore the reading *Gedor* be preferred above, there is something to be said for the suggestion of Macalister (p. 335) that we should here read "of Menahem" (a change of one letter in Heb.), some unwarlike Hebrew family, perhaps potters.

41. *written by name*] Apparently those mentioned in vv. 34—37; but the names there are of a late character, and have perhaps been artificially connected with the old tradition of the raiders in vv. 41 ff.

in the days of Hezekiah] The Heb. is ambiguous, but the clause should probably be connected with the verb "came," not with "written": the raid, not the record, was made in the days of Hezekiah.

and the Meunim] Here, and in 2 Chr. xx. 1 (see note), xxvi. 7, the LXX. has Minaeans, an Arabian people who from the 8th or 9th cent. B.C. or perhaps much earlier exercised great authority in South Arabia (see *Ency. Brit.*[11] II. 264). The Meunim of *the present* passage are to be connected with an Edomitic city or tribe not far from Petra, south of the Dead Sea; or (so Macalister, p. 336) are simply the people of Maon, a township near Hebron in Judah. 2 Chr. xx. 1 (note) and xxvi. 7, R.V.

destroyed them utterly] or, as mg., **devoted them** (cp. Josh. vi. 18, 21, R.V.). See note 2 Chr. xx. 23.

43. *the remnant of the Amalekites*] i.e. the descendants of those who had escaped the attacks of Saul and David (1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 3 ff.). They had apparently found refuge in some part of the Edomite territory, for *mount Seir* is a synonym for *the land of Edom*.

And the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel, (for he 5
was the firstborn; but, forasmuch as he defiled his father's
couch, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the
son of Israel; and the genealogy is not to be reckoned
after the birthright. For Judah prevailed above his brethren, 2
and of him came the [1]prince; but the birthright was Joseph's:)
the sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and 3
Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. The sons of Joel; Shemaiah 4
his son, Gog his son, Shimei his son; Micah his son, Reaiah 5
his son, Baal his son; Beerah his son, whom [2]Tilgath-pilneser 6
king of Assyria carried away captive: he was prince of the

[1] Or, *leader* [2] In 2 Kings xv. 29, xvi. 7, *Tiglath-pileser*.

CH. V. 1—10. THE GENEALOGY OF REUBEN.

1. *he defiled*] Gen. xxxv. 22, xlix. 4.

his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph] Cp. Gen. xlviii. 5, "Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine," words of Jacob which might be interpreted to mean that the rights of the firstborn were to pass from Reuben and Simeon to Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph.

the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright] i.e. though the birthright of Reuben has been given to Joseph, yet the genealogy of Joseph is not to be given before that of Reuben. Ver. 2 intimates that, though Joseph possessed the birthright, Judah had a primacy as supplying the royal family. In this confusion of claims the natural order is followed and the genealogy of Reuben is given first.

2. *Judah prevailed above his brethren*] Cp. Gen. xlix. 8 (Jacob to Judah) "Thy father's children shall bow down before thee."

the prince] The Heb. word is *nāgīd*. The immediate reference is to David (Saul being virtually ignored by the Chronicler).

3. *the sons of Reuben*] The same four names (with one unimportant variation in spelling in A.V.) appear Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14.

Hanoch] the correct spelling of the familiar name *Enoch*; cp. i. 3.

Hezron, and Carmi] also given as sons of Judah: for Hezron, cp. ii. 5 (note); for Carmi ii. 7, iv. 1.

4. *sons of Joel*] the connection, if any, with the preceding verse is not known.

6. *Beerah...captive*] The deportation of Beerah is recorded only here, but there is no reason why the tradition should not be historical. The information is of very slight importance in itself, but since there is absolutely no motive to make the Chronicler invent the statement, this is precisely the *kind* of notice which implies that he had some sources oral or traditional at his command outside the canonical material (see Introd. § 5).

7 Reubenites. And his brethren by their families, when the
genealogy of their generations was reckoned; the chief, Jeiel,
8 and Zechariah, and Bela the son of Azaz, the son of Shema,
the son of Joel, who dwelt in Aroer, even unto Nebo and
9 Baal-meon: and eastward he dwelt even unto the entering
in of the wilderness from the river Euphrates: because their
10 cattle were multiplied in the land of Gilead. And in the
days of Saul they made war with the Hagrites, who fell by
their hand: and they dwelt in their tents throughout all the
land east of Gilead.
11 And the sons of Gad dwelt over against them, in the land
12 of Bashan unto Salecah: Joel the chief, and Shapham the
13 second, and Janai, and Shaphat in Bashan: and their
brethren of their fathers' houses; Michael, and Meshullam,

Tilgath-pilneser] called *Tiglath-pileser* (2 Kin. xv. 29), and no doubt identical with *Pul* (see below, ver. 26).

8. *Aroer*] now *'Ar'âir*, a heap of ruins near the *wâdy Mojib*, i.e. the *Arnon* (Josh. xii. 2). According to Josh. xiii. 9—16 it passed from Sihon king of the Amorites into the hands of the Reubenites. See Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 153.

Nebo and Baal-meon] A line drawn due N. from Aroer (see last note) passes close first to *Ma'in* (which may be *Baal-meon*) and then to *Jebel Nebâ*, which evidently preserves the name of Mount Nebo.

Baal-meon] called more correctly Beth-baal-meon Josh. xiii. 17.

10. *in the days of Saul*] Saul's victory over the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi.) may have paved the way for the expansion of Israel east of Jordan, but see also the note on ver. 19.

the Hagrites] cp. Ps. lxxxiii. 6 (R.V. mg.). They were an Arab people. See further the note on ver. 19.

the land *east of Gilead*] i.e. the land between Gilead and the Euphrates (cp. ver. 9). On Gilead, see note, ii. 22.

11—17. The Genealogy and Settlements of Gad.

11. *Bashan*] the wide district extending from the Jabbok on the S. to Hermon in the N. and from the Sea of Galilee on the W. to the mountains of Hauran on the E. (cp. ver. 23). Remark that in Num. xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 12; Josh. xiii. 25, Gad is located in Gilead (south of Bashan) where the Chronicler has placed Reuben.

Salecah] is probably represented at the present day by the ruins of *Salkhad* due S. of the *Jebel Hauran* and almost due E. of Bosra.

12. *and Janai, and Shaphat*] LXX. "Janin the scribe"; Targ., "Janai the judge."

of their fathers' houses] This rather awkward phrase means clans or

and Sheba, and Jorai, and Jacan, and Zia, and Eber, seven.
These were the sons of Abihail the son of Huri, the son of 14
Jaroah, the son of Gilead, the son of Michael, the son of
Jeshishai, the son of Jahdo, the son of Buz; Ahi the son of 15
Abdiel, the son of Guni, chief of their fathers' houses. And 16
they dwelt in Gilead in Bashan, and in her [1]towns, and in
all the [2]suburbs of Sharon, as far as their [3]borders. All these 17
were reckoned by genealogies in the days of Jotham king
of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam king of Israel.

The sons of Reuben, and the Gadites, and the half tribe 18
of Manasseh, of valiant men, men able to bear buckler and
sword, and to shoot with bow, and skilful in war, were forty
and four thousand seven hundred and threescore, that were

[1] Heb. *daughters.* [2] Or, *pasture lands* [3] Heb. *goings forth.*

patriarchal families (Greek πατριαί). Sometimes it is used to denote the whole tribe, cp. Num. xvii. 17.

16. *in Gilead in Bashan*] a contradictory phrase, since *Gilead* means the southern and *Bashan* the northern part of Israel's trans-Jordanic territory. Perhaps *in Bashan* is here an addition made by the Chronicler or a later hand to harmonise *in Gilead* (the territory usually assigned to Gad—see note on ver. 11 above) with vv. 11 and 23. The emendation "in Gilead in Jabesh" has been suggested.

Sharon] some place, unidentified, to the E. of Jordan. LXX. (B) has *Sirion*. (The well-known *Sharon* lay in the maritime plain between Joppa and Caesarea.)

17. *reckoned by genealogies...and in the days of Jeroboam*] "Reckoning by genealogy" is a phrase used only in the writings of the Chronicler (Chron., Ezra, Neh.), but the practice probably resembled what is called in other books "numbering the people": see the example in Neh. vii. 5—65. The object however was different and corresponded with the circumstances of the returned exiles, who found themselves in the midst of a Gentile population in Judea. The people were "reckoned by genealogy" not so much to take a census of them, as to inquire into the purity of their Israelite descent. The ancient term "numbering" would be a more suitable description of a transaction belonging to the days of Jotham. For *Jotham* see 2 Chr. xxvii. and for *Jeroboam* 2 Kin. xiv. 23—29. The last years of the reign of Jeroboam II probably synchronized with part of the reign of Jotham.

18—22. The War of the Trans-Jordanic Tribes against Arabian Tribes.

18. *skilful in war*] cp. xii. 8, 21.

forty and four thousand] According to Josh. iv. 13 "about forty thousand" from these tribes crossed the Jordan with Joshua.

able to go forth to war. And they made war with the
Hagrites, with Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab. And they
were helped against them, and the Hagrites were delivered
into their hand, and all that were with them: for they cried
to God in the battle, and he was intreated of them; because
they put their trust in him. And they took away their
cattle; of their camels fifty thousand, and of sheep two
hundred and fifty thousand, and of asses two thousand, and
of [1]men an hundred thousand. For there fell many slain,
because the war was of God. And they dwelt in their
stead until the captivity.

And the children of the half tribe of Manasseh dwelt in
the land: they increased from Bashan unto Baal-hermon
and Senir and mount Hermon. And these were the heads
of their fathers' houses; even Epher, and Ishi, and Eliel,
and Azriel, and Jeremiah, and Hodaviah, and Jahdiel,

[1] Heb. *souls of men.*

19. *made war with the Hagrites...*] Possibly this war described in vv. 18—22 is only a midrashic variation of the war briefly noted in ver. 10; possibly we have traditions of separate conflicts. That fighting against Arabian tribes took place in the time of Saul (ver. 10) is quite probable, and perhaps there is here a definite recollection of the fact. Yet conflicts on the eastern borders were no doubt frequent, and the ancient fights may have been overlaid with the memories and details of more recent struggles, and especially the names assigned may be those of later foes. Though the Hagrites are mentioned in inscriptions of Sennacherib, they seem to have grown more prominent and powerful in later days (cp. Ps. lxxxiii. 7), and their name in the Chronicler's time may have been somewhat loosely and generally applied to the Arabian tribes near Palestine.

Jetur, and Naphish, and Nodab] Other Bedouin tribes, *Jetur*, *Naphish*, *Kedemah* are given as sons of Ishmael in i. 31.

20. *they were helped*] with Divine assistance; cp. xv. 26.

22. *was of God*] i.e. was prompted by God; cp. 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.

23, 24. The Half Tribe of Manasseh.

23. For the genealogy of Manasseh, see vii. 14 ff.

Baal-hermon] In Judg. iii. 3 a mount Baal-hermon is mentioned. Here probably a city is meant, possibly *Banias*, on the eastern slope of Hermon.

Senir] an Amorite name for Mt Hermon or a peak of the range (Deut. iii. 9).

mighty men of valour, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses.

And they trespassed against the God of their fathers, and 25
went a whoring after the gods of the peoples of the land,
whom God destroyed before them. And the God of Israel 26
stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of
Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria, and he carried them away,
even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of
Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and
Hara, and to the river of Gozan, unto this day.

25, 26. THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TRANS-JORDANIC TRIBES.

25. *they trespassed*] The Hebrew verb has a special reference to unlawful or idolatrous worship and also to the violation of a consecrated thing; cp. Josh. xxii. 16, 20, 31.

26. *stirred up the spirit*] Cp. 2 Chr. xxi. 16, where see note; xxxvi. 22.

Pul...and...Tilgath-pilneser] Both here and in 2 Kin. xv. 19, 29 (*Pul...Tiglath-pileser*) the two names are used as though two different persons were meant, but there is no doubt that *Pul* is the earlier and *Tiglath-pileser* the royal name of the same king; cp. ver. 6.

unto Halah, etc.] In 2 Kin. xv. 29 it is said only, *to Assyria*; in 2 Kin. xvii. 6 it is said that the *Western* tribes ("Samaria") were carried away and placed *in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan and in the cities of the Medes.*

Halah] probably a district of Mesopotamia, but it has not yet been convincingly identified.

Habor] a river flowing into the Euphrates from the E., known to the Greeks as Χαβώρας or Ἀβόρρας.

and Hara] No place of this name is known and the word is omitted in LXX. The reading may be corrupt for *and in the cities of the Medes* (2 Kin. xvii. 6, cp. LXX.; xviii. 11).

the river of Gozan] Gozan was a district of Mesopotamia.

CH. VI. **1—81** (=v. 27—vi. 66 according to the Heb. division).

GENEALOGIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF LEVI.

1—15. THE SONS OF LEVI, AND THE HIGH-PRIESTS TO THE CAPTIVITY.

The identity of interests and standpoint between the Chronicler and the Levitical order has been noted in the Introd. § 6 *ad fin.* It follows that the contents of the present chapter were to him of primary importance, and doubtless these lists represent not his own view only but the developed and accepted opinion of the Levitical and priestly classes

as a whole, who believed that their institution, duties, and privileges generally were of Mosaic origin, whilst to David they ascribed the particular arrangements in connection with the Temple and especially the development of the choral services. The attempt to express their faith in concrete genealogical form was inevitable and indeed commendable. But the actual facts regarding the growth of the Levitical system (see the Additional Note at the end of this chapter, pp. 51 f.) were so very different from this theory that the artificiality of the lists is apparent to modern analysis, despite the zeal and ingenuity with which they have been compiled. Some points which indicate the unhistorical nature of the genealogies, together with questions raised by the internal structure of the chapter, will be indicated in the head-notes to the several sections. It must not be thought that such inconsistencies were equally (if at all) present to the mind of the Chronicler. For him the actual existence of the pedigree uniting the priests and Levites of his day with Aaron and finally with Levi was an axiom of thought; the *one* problem was to trace it out: and he was not restrained in his search by the spirit of scientific caution which is second nature to us. Thus in the ancestry of the singers (vv. 34—47), where the lack of information to supply the necessary links in the genealogy was acutely felt, Curtis (p. 135) points out that current genealogical matter seems to have been naïvely pressed into this particular service on the ground of the identity of even a single name! Great allowance must be made for the Chronicler and his contemporaries. Even if part of the lists was *consciously* fabricated, that proves no more than that he was a man of his age and under the dominance of a theory. As Torrey remarks (*Ezra Studies*, p. 65), "he was not writing history for us but for the good of his people." There is no case for a charge of religious insincerity. Rather the opposite is true, and his failings as a historian constantly reveal the measure of his faith as a religious man. He was so profoundly sure of the truth of the doctrine that its presuppositions, if not discoverable in historical records, might (he felt) legitimately be conjectured. For further information showing how natural and how free was the manipulation of genealogies in ancient times reference may be made to the *Ency. Brit.*[11], s.v. *Genealogy*, or to M[c]Lennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (2nd ser., 1896), ch. ix.

1—15. In the finished system of the Jewish hierarchy, the Levitical order is found to be in three main divisions, "families," who in the prevailing fashion, believed themselves to be descended from the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. In vv. 1—3 this view is expressed, and the connection is traced from Levi to Aaron, the first of the traditional line of high-priests, which in vv. 4—15 is given through Zadok down to the time of the Captivity. (1) The intention of the list in vv. 4—15 is clear. It is given to declare the legitimacy of Jehozadak the high-priest who went into exile at the fall of Jerusalem and was accounted the father of Jeshua the high-priest of the Return (see Ezr. iii. 2, etc.; Neh. xii. 26; Hag. i. 1; Zech. vi. 11). Thus upon Jehozadak's legitimacy depended the legitimacy of the post-exilic priesthood of Jerusalem. (2) The mechanical nature of the list

The sons of Levi; [1]Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. And 6
the sons of Kohath; Amram, Izhar, and Hebron, and Uz- 2
ziel. And the children of Amram; Aaron, and Moses, and 3
Miriam. And the sons of Aaron; Nadab and Abihu,
Eleazar and Ithamar. Eleazar begat Phinehas, Phinehas 4
begat Abishua; and Abishua begat Bukki, and Bukki begat 5
Uzzi; and Uzzi begat Zerahiah, and Zerahiah begat 6
Meraioth; Meraioth begat Amariah, and Amariah begat 7
Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat 8

[1] In ver. 16, *Gershom.*

is very evident when it is considered chronologically. Allowing the standard 40 years for each of the twenty-three priests in the list we get $40 \times 12 + 40 \times 11 = 920$ years. This is in agreement with the unhistorical but beautifully regular chronology of the Priestly conception of the history, which allowed 480 years from the Exodus (Aaron) to Solomon's Temple, and again 480 years to the foundation of the second Temple (Jeshua)—the Captivity (Jehozadak) being reckoned as taking place in the *eleventh* generation of the second period. (3) The list presents some noteworthy features. The line of high-priests from Eli to Abiathar is ignored, but this is natural, since the ascendancy of the Zadokite line was ascribed to the Divine anger against the house of Eli (1 Sam. iii. 12—14; 1 Kin. ii. 27). It is curious, however, that this list of the high-priests omits Jehoiada (mentioned in 2 Kin. xi. 9; 2 Chr. xxii. 11) and Urijah (2 Kin. xvi. 11 ff.) and an Azariah in the reign of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 20) who should come between Amariah of Jehoshaphat's reign and Hilkiah in the time of Josiah. (4) Finally note that the list of high-priests as far as the reign of David is repeated in vv. 50—53. It is a very difficult problem to determine the relation between the two lists (see the head-note to ver. 50).

1. *The sons of Levi*] So Gen. xlvi. 11; Ex. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17, xxvi. 57—all from P.

2. *the sons of Kohath*] So Ex. vi. 18; Num. iii. 19.

3. *Aaron, and Moses*] The same order in Ex. vi. 20. Aaron was the elder (Ex. vii. 7).

And the sons of Aaron] So Ex. vi. 23. Nadab and Abihu perished childless; Lev. x. 1 ff.

4. *Phinehas*] Num. xxv. 7 ff., xxxi. 6; Josh. xxii. 13 ff.

8. *Ahitub begat Zadok*] So also xviii. 16, but wrongly. The assertion that Ahitub was father of Zadok was derived by the Chronicler from 2 Sam. viii. 17, but the text of that passage has undoubtedly been altered (see Commentaries *ad loc.*) and it read originally "and Zadok, and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub." Actually there were two leading priestly families in David's day represented respectively by Zadok and Abiathar. Of these Solomon deposed Abiathar (thus fulfilling the curse which was

9 Ahimaaz; and Ahimaaz begat Azariah, and Azariah begat
10 Johanan; and Johanan begat Azariah, (he it is that executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in
11 Jerusalem:) and Azariah begat Amariah, and Amariah
12 begat Ahitub; and Ahitub begat Zadok, and Zadok begat
13 [1]Shallum; and Shallum begat Hilkiah, and Hilkiah begat
14 Azariah; and Azariah begat Seraiah, and Seraiah begat
15 Jehozadak; and Jehozadak went *into captivity*, when the LORD carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar.

16 17 The sons of Levi; [2]Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. And these be the names of the sons of Gershom; Libni and
18 Shimei. And the sons of Kohath were Amram, and Izhar,

[1] In ch. ix. 11, *Meshullam*. [2] In ver. 1, *Gershon*.

laid on the house of Eli, from whom Abiathar was descended—see 1 Kin. ii. 27), and thereafter the line of Zadok became the sole representatives of the supreme priestly office. See also the note on xv. 11.

Ahimaaz] 2 Sam. xv. 27, xvii. 17—21, xviii. 19 ff.

9. *Azariah*] This Azariah rather than the Azariah of ver. 10 would have been contemporary with Solomon, and therefore the notice attached to the name Azariah in ver. 10 (*he it is that executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem*) belongs to ver. 9. Cp. 1 Kin. iv. 2.

11. *Amariah*] apparently the contemporary of Jehoshaphat mentioned in 2 Chr. xix. 11.

13. *Hilkiah*] The high-priest in Josiah's reign; 2 Kin. xxii. 8; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14.

14. *Seraiah*] slain soon after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.; 2 Kin. xxv. 18—21; Jer. lii. 24—27.

Jehozadak] *Jozadak* in Ezra iii. 2, v. 2. His son Jeshua was the first high-priest after the exile; Hag. i. 1, etc.

16—30 (=vi. 1—15 according to the Heb. division).

16—30. THE THREE SONS OF LEVI AND THEIR CLANS.

16—19. THE SONS OF LEVI.

16. *Gershom*] elsewhere *Gershon*. *Gershom* was the name of Moses' son; Ex. ii. 22.

17. *Libni and Shimei*] Ex. vi. 17; *Libni* is called *Ladan* in xxiii. 7, xxvi. 21, and is to be connected with the Judean town *Libnah*.

18. *Amram*] through whom the line of high-priests is traced above, ver. 2 ff.

and Hebron, and Uzziel. The sons of Merari; Mahli and 19
Mushi. And these are the families of the Levites according
to their fathers' *houses*. Of Gershom; Libni his son, Jahath 20
his son, Zimmah his son; [1]Joah his son, [2]Iddo his son, 21
Zerah his son, [3]Jeatherai his son. The sons of Kohath; 22
[4]Amminadab his son, Korah his son, Assir his son; Elkanah 23
his son, and Ebiasaph his son, and Assir his son; Tahath 24
his son, [5]Uriel his son, Uzziah his son, and Shaul his son.
And the sons of Elkanah; Amasai, and Ahimoth. As for $\frac{25}{26}$
Elkanah: the sons of Elkanah; [6]Zophai his son, and [7]Nahath
his son; [8]Eliab his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son. 27

[1] In ver. 42, *Ethan*. [2] In ver. 41, *Adaiah*. [3] In ver. 41, *Ethni*.
[4] In ver. 2, 18, 38, *Izhar*. [5] In ver. 36, *Zephaniah, Azariah, Joel*.
[6] In ver. 35, *Zuph*. [7] In ver. 34, *Toah*. [8] In ver. 34, *Eliel*.

19. *Mahli and Mushi*] xxiii. 21, xxiv. 26; Ex. vi. 19. Mushi is probably a derivative of Moses. For discussion of this point and of other evidence (cp. vv. 16, 17) indicating a relationship between the Levites and clans from south Judah, see *Ency. Brit.*[11], s.v. *Levites*, vol. XVI. p. 513.

20, 21. A PEDIGREE FROM GERSHOM.

20, 21. See notes on vv. 39—43.

22—28. THE SONS OF KOHATH TO SAMUEL.

22—28. See notes on vv. 33—38.

22. *Amminadab*] In Ex. vi. 23, the father-in-law of Aaron. Perhaps an error here for *Izhar* (LXX.[A]), through whom the line is traced in ver. 38, as in Num. xvi. 1.

23. *Assir his son; Elkanah*] perhaps redundant here, or omitted in ver. 37, where Ebiasaph is the son of Korah.

24. *Shaul*] apparently corresponds with Joel, ver. 36. The difference in Heb. is slight, and might easily arise in transcription. Shaul is to be taken as father of Elkanah (cp. ver. 36), although the connection is strangely omitted.

26. *As for Elkanah: the sons of Elkanah; Zophai his son*] Read simply, following LXX., **Elkanah his son**; **Zophai his son**.

Zophai] From *Zophai* to Samuel's sons the list can be compared not only with vv. 33—35 but with 1 Sam. i. 1 and with viii. 2. Such differences as appear in corresponding names are doubtless due to transcriptional errors.

27. *Elkanah his son*] add probably, **Samuel his son.**

28 And the sons of Samuel; the firstborn [1]*Joel*, and the second
29 Abijah. The sons of Merari; Mahli, Libni his son, Shimei
30 his son, Uzzah his son; Shimea his son, Haggiah his son, Asaiah his son.

[1] So the Syriac. See ver. 33, and 1 Sam. viii. 2. The Hebrew text has, *Vashni, and Abiah.*

28. *the firstborn* Joel, *and the second Abijah*] See the marginal note above. In the Heb. text the name *Joel* has been accidentally omitted, and *Vashni* is merely a corruption of the Heb. for *and the second*: an interesting example of error in textual transmission.

29, 30. SONS OF MERARI.

29, 30. See notes on vv. 44—47.

29. *Libni* and *Shimei* are given above (ver. 17) as sons of Gershom.

31—47 (=16—32 in the Heb. division).

THE SINGERS APPOINTED BY DAVID, AND THEIR ANCESTRY.

31—47. The three singers, *Heman*, *Asaph*, and *Ethan* (=*Jeduthun* elsewhere except xv. 17 ff.) were the reputed founders of the three choral guilds of the post-exilic period. That these guilds were very gradually formed and in the form known to the Chronicler were a late post-exilic development is certain, but the precise stages of their growth are obscure, see Hastings' *D. B.* IV. 36 end—37. Possibly the singers for a considerable time were not necessarily Levites, but eventually they all claimed Levitical origin, and the pedigrees here given are the supposed justification of the claim. As the elaborated system of the Temple service (xxiii. ff.) was thought to have been instituted by David, the genealogies of the three singers are so arranged as to make them contemporaries of David. Comparing these verses with vv. 4—15, it is evident that the genealogy from Korah has been used for constructing the pedigree of Heman (33—38), that of Gershom (20—22) for Asaph (39—43), and to a less extent that of Merari (29, 30) for Ethan (44—47). But in the line of Gershom and in that of Merari further names were required, five in the former and eight in the latter case, in order to make the genealogies sufficiently long to reach down to the time of David and thus make Asaph and Ethan his contemporaries. When these further names are examined they are found to be of a definitely post-exilic character; and it is evident that the Chronicler or whoever constructed the pedigrees utilised recent genealogies of the singers, which for some reason seemed to him suitable. The identity of a single name in the two lists was apparently deemed sufficient cause for making the connection (see note on vv. 44—47).

And these are they whom David set over the service of 31
song in the house of the LORD, after that the ark had rest.
And they ministered with song before the tabernacle of the 32
tent of meeting, until Solomon had built the house of the
LORD in Jerusalem: and they [1]waited on their office
according to their order. And these are they that [1]waited, 33
and their sons. Of the sons of the Kohathites: Heman the
singer, the son of Joel, the son of Samuel; the son of 34
Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Eliel, the son
of [2]Toah; the son of [3]Zuph, the son of Elkanah, the son of 35
Mahath, the son of Amasai; the son of Elkanah, the son 36
of [4]Joel, the son of Azariah, the son of Zephaniah; the son 37
of Tahath, the son of Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, the son of
Korah; the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of 38
Levi, the son of Israel. And his brother Asaph, who stood 39

[1] Heb. *stood.* [2] In ver. 26, *Nahath.* [3] In ver. 26, *Zophai.*
[4] In ver. 24, *Shaul, Uzziah, Uriel.*

31. *the ark had rest*] i.e. was brought into the city of David for a permanent resting-place, cp. Ps. cxxxii. 8, 14.

32. *they waited...order*] a phrase characteristic of the Chronicler. For *waited* render rather, as mg., **stood** (cp. Ps. cxxxv. 2): i.e. Heman the leader stood in the central position, Asaph on his right hand (ver. 39) and Ethan on his left (ver. 44).

33—38. THE DESCENT OF HEMAN, DAVID'S SINGER, THROUGH KOHATH FROM LEVI.

33. *Heman*] the guild of Heman, as the present pedigree indicates, is reckoned (with what measure of historical ground is uncertain) to be of Levitical descent and of the Kohathite family: see also *Korah* below, ver. 37.

37. *Korah*] the sons of Korah figure in the titles of various Psalms (e.g. Pss. 44—49, 84, 85) and probably represent an earlier stage in the development of choral worship of the Temple. With this Korahite guild the guild of Heman evidently was associated, though whether by a process of development or of amalgamation it is impossible to say. It is noteworthy that other references to Korah (cp. Gen. xxxvi. 5; 1 Chr. ii. 43) indicate that the clan was originally of Edomite (Calebite) blood.

38. *Izhar*] see note on Amminadab, ver. 22.

on his right hand, even Asaph the son of Berechiah, the son
40 of Shimea; the son of Michael, the son of Baaseiah, the
41 son of Malchijah; the son of Ethni, the son of Zerah, the
42 son of Adaiah; the son of Ethan, the son of Zimmah,
43 the son of Shimei; the son of Jahath, the son of Gershom,
44 the son of Levi. And on the left hand their brethren the
sons of Merari: [1]Ethan the son of [2]Kishi, the son of Abdi,
45 the son of Malluch; the son of Hashabiah, the son of
46 Amaziah, the son of Hilkiah; the son of Amzi, the son of
47 Bani, the son of Shemer; the son of Mahli, the son of Mushi,
48 the son of Merari, the son of Levi. And their brethren

[1] In ch. ix. 16, *Jeduthun*. [2] In ch. xv. 17, *Kushaiah*.

39—43. The descent of Asaph, David's singer, through Gershom from Levi.

39, 40. *Berechiah...Shimea...Michael...Baaseiah...Malchijah*] these are the five additional names inserted to lengthen the pedigree and so make Asaph contemporary with David (see head-note above).

40. *Baaseiah*] Read, as LXX., **Maaseiah.**

41. *Ethni*] = Jeatherai, ver. 21. Here, and in the following names, the divergences from the corresponding names in vv. 20, 21 are not nearly so great in Heb. and can be easily accounted for. The correspondence fails in the case of the son and father of Jahath (cp. ver. 20 with 43). This however may be due simply to the omission of the names in question, Shimei in 20, Libni in 43; and other explanations could be given.

44—47. The descent of Ethan, David's singer, through Merari from Levi.

44—47. Only the first three names of the table of Merari in ver. 29 are used by the compiler of Ethan's pedigree. In place of the last four names he utilised a late list of nine names, the point of connection being found in the first, *Shemer* (ver. 46), which was identified with the *Shimei* of ver. 29.

Ethan] = Jeduthun: see note on xvi. 41.

47. *Mahli, the son of Mushi*] According to xxiii. 23, xxiv. 30, Mushi had a son Mahli, named after Mahli, his brother (ver. 19); and the natural conclusion is that the names in these verses (44—47) are the line of descent from Merari through Mushi, as those in vv. 29, 30 are through Mahli. Against this simple explanation is the late character of several names from Kishi to Bani (44—46), and therefore the more complex statement made in the previous note may be correct.

the Levites were [1]appointed for all the service of the tabernacle of the house of God.

But Aaron and his sons [2]offered upon the altar of burnt 49
offering, and upon the altar of incense, for all the work of the most holy place, and to make atonement for Israel, according to all that Moses the servant of God had commanded. And these are the sons of Aaron; Eleazar 50
his son, Phinehas his son, Abishua his son; Bukki his son, 51
Uzzi his son, Zerahiah his son; Meraioth his son, Amariah 52
his son, Ahitub his son; Zadok his son, Ahimaaz his son. 53

[1] Heb. *given*. See Num. iii. 9. [2] Or, *burnt incense*

48, 49 (=33, 34 according to the Heb. division). THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN LEVITES AND AARONITES.

48. *their brethren the Levites*] i.e. other Levites, who were neither singers nor priests.

appointed] Heb., as marg., **given**, in allusion to Num. iii. 9, xviii. 6.

49. *Aaron and his sons*] i.e. the priests as opposed to the Levites, in accordance with the distinction characteristic of the later legislation. See the Additional Note, pp. 51, 52.

the altar of burnt offering] Ex. xxvii. 1—8.

the altar of incense] Ex. xxx. 1—10.

to make atonement] cp. Lev. iv. 31, xvi.; 2 Chr. xxix. 24.

50—53 (=35—38 according to the Heb. division). THE LINE OF AARON TO AHIMAAZ.

This is a fragment, slightly changed in wording, of the genealogy given in vv. 4—14. It goes as far as the reign of David. Some writers maintain that vv. 4—14 are an interpolation in the text of Chronicles, and that the present passage is the primary list of high-priests. But the arguments in favour of that view seem to the present writer outweighed by the two considerations adduced by Curtis, *Chronicles*, p. 127: (1) "that a list of high-priests thus inserted between ver. 49 (the duties of all the sons of Aaron) and vv. 54 ff. (the cities of all the Aaronidae), seems out of place," as it breaks the thread of the Chronicler's arrangement of the material; and (2) that its insertion might well be due to a scribe who "expected a list of the sons of Aaron after the verse describing their duties—just as the list of Levites precedes the verse detailing their duties."

54 Now these are their dwelling places according to their encampments in their borders: to the sons of Aaron, of

54—81 (= 39—66 according to the Heb. division). THE FORTY-EIGHT LEVITIC CITIES.

This section has been adopted with some rearrangement from the parallel passage in Joshua. In Joshua the number of cities taken from each group of tribes and given to its respective division of the Levites is first stated, no city being named; and next the names of the cities are given under each division of the Levites and under the name of the tribe from which the cities were taken. In Chron. the cities given to the Aaronites are first mentioned by name and reckoned to be thirteen in number (vv. 55—60); next the cities given to each remaining division of the Levites are reckoned shortly by number only (vv. 61—63); lastly, these cities are separately reckoned at length by name only (vv. 66—81). This rearrangement is not happy; perhaps the Chronicler originally intended to give the Aaronite cities only by name as well as number, and so vv. 66—81 (containing the names of the non-Aaronite cities) may be a supplement to the original text. Notice that no names of cities taken from Simeon are given; but this apparently arises through the Chronicler's rearrangement of the parallel passage in Joshua; for ver. 65, which here follows the list of Aaronite cities, mentions Simeon, and in the original context (Josh. xxi. 9) it *precedes* the list.

(CRITICAL NOTE ON **54—81**.)

The text of the passage has suffered in transcription. In vv. 55—60 eleven names are given, but thirteen are reckoned (ver. 60), the explanation being that the names *Juttah* and *Gibeon* (Josh. xxi. 16, 17) have fallen out. In ver. 61, after or before *Manasseh*, the names of *Ephraim* and *Dan* have fallen out (cp. ver. 66 and Josh. xxi. 5): Manasseh contributed only two out of the ten cities. Before ver. 69 we must restore from Josh. xxi. 23 the words, *And out of the tribe of Dan, Eltekeh with her suburbs, Gibbethon with her suburbs.* In ver. 77 or immediately before ver. 78 two names of cities of Zebulun have fallen out; cp. ver. 63 ("twelve cities") with vv. 77—81 (ten cities only are named).

54—60 (= Josh. xxi. 10—19). THE [THIRTEEN] CITIES OF THE AARONITES.

54. *Now these...borders*] the words are supplied by the Chronicler. Owing to his rearrangement of the material, the original introduction (i.e. Josh. xxi. 9) appears in this chapter as ver. 65 (where see note).

encampments] Properly, the circular encampments of a nomadic tribe; here used more freely = habitations.

the families of the Kohathites, for theirs was the *first* lot,
to them they gave Hebron in the land of Judah, and the 55
suburbs thereof round about it; but the fields of the city, 56
and the villages thereof, they gave to Caleb the son of
Jephunneh. And to the sons of Aaron they gave the cities 57
of refuge, Hebron; Libnah also with her suburbs, and
Jattir, and Eshtemoa with her suburbs; and [1]Hilen with 58
her suburbs, Debir with her suburbs; and [2]Ashan with her 59
suburbs, and Beth-shemesh with her suburbs: and out of the 60
tribe of Benjamin; Geba with her suburbs, and [3]Allemeth
with her suburbs, and Anathoth with her suburbs. All their
cities throughout their families were thirteen cities. And 61
unto the rest of the sons of Kohath *were given* by lot, out

[1] In Josh. xxi. 15, *Holon*. [2] In Josh. xxi. 16, *Ain*.
[3] In Josh. xxi. 18, *Almon*.

55. *suburbs*] cp. xiii. 2, note.

56. *to Caleb*] Josh. xxi. 12; Judg. i. 20.

57. *the cities of refuge, Hebron*] Read, **the city of refuge, Hebron** (cp. Josh. xxi. 13), Hebron being the only city of refuge here mentioned (Josh. xx. 7).

Libnah] in the S.W. of Judah, Josh. x. 29; 2 Kin. viii. 22, xix. 8.

Eshtemoa] the modern es-Semu'a, S. of Hebron. Cp. iv. 17.

58. *Hilen*] In Josh. xxi. 15, *Holon*.

Debir] identified with modern Dâharîjeh, S.W. of Hebron. It is called *Kiriath-sepher* (Judg. i. 11) and *Kiriath-sannah* (Josh. xv. 49).

59. *Ashan with her suburbs*] Josh. xxi. 16 has *Ain* for *Ashan*, and adds, *and Juttah with her suburbs*. Cp. the Critical Note above.

Beth-shemesh] Josh. xv. 10; 1 Sam. vi. 9; 2 Kin. xiv. 11, 13 (= 2 Chr. xxv. 21, 23). A town in the N.W. of Judah, now *'Ain Shems*, situated at the point at which the hill-country of Judah begins, as one goes by the railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 14).

60. *of Benjamin; Geba*] In Josh. xxi. 17 *Gibeon and her suburbs* is inserted before *Geba*. Cp. the Critical Note above. Geba was situated by the pass of Michmash, some six miles from Jerusalem; cp. 1 Sam. vi. 9 ff.

Allemeth] In Josh. xxi. 18, *Almon*.

thirteen cities] Cp. the Critical Note above.

61—65 (cp. Josh. xxi. 26, 33, 40). DISTRIBUTION OF THIRTY-FIVE OTHER CITIES TO THE REST OF THE LEVITES.

61. *the rest of the sons of Kohath*] i.e. the Kohathites who were not *sons of Aaron* (ver. 54).

of the family of the tribe, out of the half tribe, the half of
62 Manasseh, ten cities. And to the sons of Gershom, according to their families, out of the tribe of Issachar, and out of the tribe of Asher, and out of the tribe of Naphtali, and out of the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan, thirteen cities.
63 Unto the sons of Merari *were given* by lot, according to their families, out of the tribe of Reuben, and out of the tribe of Gad, and out of the tribe of Zebulun, twelve cities.
64 And the children of Israel gave to the Levites the cities
65 with their suburbs. And they gave by lot out of the tribe of the children of Judah, and out of the tribe of the children of Simeon, and out of the tribe of the children of Benjamin,
66 these cities which are mentioned by name. And some of the families of the sons of Kohath had cities of their borders
67 out of the tribe of Ephraim. And they gave unto them the cities of refuge, Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim

out of the family...Manasseh] read **out of the families of the tribe of Ephraim and out of the tribe of Dan and out of the half tribe of Manasseh.** See the Critical Note on vv. 54—81.

62. *the tribe of Manasseh in Bashan*] i.e. the half tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan.

63. *twelve cities*] The total number of Levitic cities (ver. 60 thirteen, ver. 61 ten, ver. 62 thirteen, ver. 63 twelve) was forty-eight (so Josh. xxi. 41), of which the Kohathites, as the largest division (cp. xv. 5, note), received twenty-three or nearly half.

65. *by lot*] as a means of gaining Divine sanction for the assignment of cities. This verse (=Josh. xxi. 9) is plainly unsuitable in its present context. In Joshua it is the introduction to the list of Aaronic cities (here vv. 54—60). The Chronicler, having rearranged the material of his source, nevertheless preferred to transcribe this verse, despite the lack of harmony with the context; or possibly, if vv. 66—81 are an addition to the original text of Chronicles (see the head-note on vv. 54—81), ver. 65 may also be a later insertion intended to help as a connecting link between vv. 64 and 66 ff.

66—81. Cities of the Levites.

66—70 (=Josh. xxi. 20—25). The [ten] cities of the non-Aaronite Kohathites.

66. *of their borders*] rather, as Josh. xxi. 20, **of their lot** (the difference in Heb. is very slight).

67. *the cities of refuge, Shechem*] Read (a slight change in Heb.) **the city of refuge, Shechem.** Cp. ver. 57, note.

Shechem] Gen. xii. 6, xxxiii. 18; Josh. xxiv. 1; Judg. ix. 1; 1 Kin.

with her suburbs; Gezer also with her suburbs; [1]and 68
Jokmeam with her suburbs, and Beth-horon with her suburbs;
and Aijalon with her suburbs, and Gath-rimmon with her 69
suburbs: and out of the half tribe of Manasseh; Aner with 70
her suburbs, and Bileam with her suburbs, for the rest of
the family of the sons of Kohath. Unto the sons of 71
Gershom *were given*, out of the family of the half tribe
of Manasseh, Golan in Bashan with her suburbs, and
Ashtaroth with her suburbs: and out of the tribe of Issachar; 72

[1] See Josh. xxi. 22—39, where some of the names are different.

xii. 1. Shechem is the modern Nabulus, situated almost in the middle of Palestine.

Gezer] Josh. xvi. 3; Judg. i. 29; 1 Kin. ix. 16. It is the modern Tell Jezer about 18 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. The site has recently been excavated with excellent results—see Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, or Driver, *Modern Research Illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lectures, 1908).

68. *Jokmeam*] In Josh. xxi. 22, *Kibzaim*. The two words resemble one another more closely in Hebrew, and are to be taken as various readings of the same name. Nothing is known of a *Kibzaim* in Ephraim. A *Jokmeam* is mentioned 1 Kin. iv. 12.

Beth-horon] Josh. x. 10, 11, xvi. 3, 5; 1 Macc. iii. 24. There were two cities, a lower and an upper Beth-horon, the modern *Beitur*, "near the head and the foot respectively of the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin."

69. *and Aijalon*] *Aijalon* and *Gath-rimmon* were in Dan near the Jaffa road some 13 miles from Jerusalem; cp. Josh. xxi. 23, 24. See also the Critical Note on vv. 54—81.

70. *the half tribe of Manasseh*] the western half tribe; the eastern is mentioned ver. 71.

Aner] Read probably **Taanach**, as in vii. 29; Josh. xxi. 25; Judg. v. 19. Taanach was situated in the plain of Esdraelon, some four miles south of Megiddo.

Bileam] read **Ibleam**, cp. Judg. i. 27; 2 Kin. ix. 27. In Josh. xxi. 25, *Gath-rimmon*, an error of dittography.

for the rest...Kohath] a fragment of Josh. xxi. 26.

71—76 (=Josh. xxi. 27—32). THE THIRTEEN CITIES OF THE SONS OF GERSHOM.

71. *Golan*] a city of refuge, Josh. xxi. 27. The name of this city is still preserved in *Jolan* (*Jaulan*), the name of a district E. of Jordan extending from Hermon to the Jarmuk.

Ashtaroth] mentioned with Edrei in Josh. ix. 10 as the capital of Og, king of Bashan. The name testifies to the worship of Ashtoreth.

73 Kedesh with her suburbs, Daberath with her suburbs; and
Ramoth with her suburbs, and Anem with her suburbs:
74 and out of the tribe of Asher; Mashal with her suburbs,
75 and Abdon with her suburbs; and Hukok with her suburbs,
76 and Rehob with her suburbs: and out of the tribe of
Naphtali; Kedesh in Galilee with her suburbs, and Hammon
77 with her suburbs, and Kiriathaim with her suburbs. Unto
the rest of *the Levites*, the sons of Merari, *were given*, out of
the tribe of Zebulun, Rimmono with her suburbs, Tabor
78 with her suburbs: and beyond the Jordan at Jericho, on
the east side of Jordan, *were given them*, out of the tribe of
Reuben, Bezer in the wilderness with her suburbs, and
79 Jahzah with her suburbs, and Kedemoth with her suburbs,

72. *Kedesh*] Read **Kishion** with Josh. xxi. 28 (so *ibid.* xix. 20).
Daberath] the modern Dabûriyeh at the foot of Mount Tabor.

73. *Ramoth*] *Jarmuth*, Josh. xxi. 29; or perhaps *Remeth*, Josh. xix. 21.

Anem] Read **En-gannim** with Josh. xxi. 29. Probably the modern large village of *Jenîn* on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon.

74. *Mashal*] *Mishal*, Josh. xxi. 30 (cp. Josh. xix. 26, R.V.).

75. *Hukok*] Read **Helkath** with Josh. xxi. 31 (cp. Josh. xix. 25).

76. *Kedesh in Galilee*] called *Kedesh-naphtali* in Judg. iv. 6; it is the modern *Kedes*, situated on a lofty plateau overlooking the waters of *Hûleh* (*Merom*). It was a city of refuge, Josh. xxi. 32.

Hammon...Kiriathaim] In Josh. xxi. 32, *Hammoth-dor...Kartan*.

77—81 (=Josh. xxi. 34—39). THE [TWELVE] CITIES OF THE SONS OF MERARI.

77. *Rimmono...Tabor*] Read **Rimmon** or **Rimmonah**. Against these two names there are four in Josh. xxi. 34, 35: *Jokneam*, *Kartah*, *Dimnah* and *Nahalal*. As regards the number of the cities the text of Joshua is certainly right. See Critical Note on vv. 54—81.

Tabor] No city, but only a mountain named *Tabor* is known to us, as having certainly existed in Old Testament times. A city however named *Tabor* existed on the mountain as early as 218 B.C., and it may have been as old as the times of the Chronicler. Mount Tabor was in Issachar near the border of Zebulun. For *Nahalal*, the reading in Joshua, cp. Josh. xix. 15; Judg. i. 30. Cp. Badeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 250.

78. *at Jericho*] The crossing-place of the Jordan nearest to Reuben was at Jericho. For the phrase *Jordan at Jericho* cp. Josh. xvi. 1.

in the wilderness] further defined by the addition *in the table-land* (Deut. iv. 43, R.V. mg.). Bezer was among the high pasture lands of Reuben. It was a city of refuge.

Jahzah] also called *Jahaz*. Cp. Judg. xi. 20; Is. xv. 4.

and Mephaath with her suburbs: and out of the tribe of 80
Gad; Ramoth in Gilead with her suburbs, and Mahanaim
with her suburbs, and Heshbon with her suburbs, and Jazer 81
with her suburbs.

80. *Ramoth in Gilead*] a city of refuge, Josh. xxi. 38. See 1 Kin. xxii. 3; 2 Kin. ix. 1.
Mahanaim] Gen. xxxii. 2.
81. *Heshbon*] Num. xxi. 25, 26; Is. xv. 4.
Jazer] Num. xxi. 32 (R.V.); Is. xvi. 8.

Note on the Levites.

The priestly organisation known to the Chronicler represents the latest stage of a system, the development of which can to some extent be traced in the O.T. records. (1) It appears from the earliest sources that the great "priestly" duty of sacrifice at one period did not require a priest for its due performance but might be, and was, undertaken by any responsible male. For example in Ex. xxiv. 5, an occasion of the deepest solemnity, sacrifices are spoken of as offered by "young men of the children of Israel." In Ex. xxxiii. 7—11 it is clear that the other great function of early religion, charge of the responses given by the Divine oracle, is regarded as being under the control of Moses. In fact it would seem that in the earlier period there were neither priests nor Levites as a religious order; at any rate, as an order exercising a *monopoly* in the religious functions which they afterwards claimed the sole right of discharging. (2) In course of time those who administered the oracle and offered sacrifices at the manifold shrines and high places of Palestine gained importance and were recognised as a distinct religious class, *priests*; and persons claiming descent from Levi were numerous or prominent among them. But the *right* of offering sacrifices was still by no means confined to these priests of the shrines. The priesthood of the various shrines was often hereditary, passing on from father to son; and, even apart from that fact, it was most natural that members of this religious order, or perhaps one should say "profession," should be thought of as connected by blood-relationship. Eventually they were all reckoned descendants of Levi. (3) After the exile and the suppression of the local shrines of Judah, the pre-eminence of the priests or Levites of *Jerusalem* was definitely established, and (as Ezekiel had suggested) such priests of the local shrines as were satisfied to migrate to Jerusalem became subordinate to the original ministers of the Temple there. All were accounted sons of Levi; but only the original Jerusalem priests, who traced their descent through the Levitical family of Aaron, were entitled to rank as *priests*: the rest were Levites but not priests. Thus there arose a distinction in the ranks of the religious officials. (4) Finally, the functions and privileges of priests as distinct from Levites were carefully

7 And of the sons of Issachar; Tola, and [1]Puah, Jashub,
2 and Shimron, four. And the sons of Tola; Uzzi, and Rephaiah, and Jeriel, and Jahmai, and Ibsam, and Shemuel, heads of their fathers' houses, *to wit*, of Tola: mighty men of valour in their generations: their number in the days of David was two and twenty thousand and six
3 hundred. And the sons of Uzzi; Izrahiah: and the sons

[1] In Gen. xlvi. 13, *Puvah, and Iob.*

discriminated, and the tradition that their origin as a religious order was due to Moses became firmly established, whilst the complex system of their organisation, in particular the subdivisions of the Levites as singers and doorkeepers, was confidently ascribed to David. Chronicles consistently represents this latest stage of development. For a concise statement of the facts see McNeile, *Numbers*, pp. xiv ff. in the present series; and for further discussion the appropriate articles in the Dictionaries; esp. Cook in *Ency. Brit.*[11], s.v. *Levites*.

Ch. VII. 1—40. Genealogies of Six Remaining Tribes.

The treatment of the several tribes in this chapter is very unequal. In the case of Issachar (**1—5**), Zebulun (**6—12**, see note ver. 6), and Asher (**30—40**), genealogies are given and the number of fighting-men of each tribe is stated. To Naphtali is devoted a single verse (**13**), giving only the names of his sons. For Manasseh and Ephraim (**14—29**) genealogies are given and their possessions are shortly enumerated. The mention of Dan is obliterated, owing to the state of the text of ver. 12.

1—5. The Genealogy of Issachar.

1. *the sons of Issachar*] Gen. xlvi. 13; Num. xxvi. 23, 24. vv. 2—5 are from an unknown source, or from the Chronicler himself.

Tola] the name of one of the minor Judges (Judg. x. 1). He is there described as "Tola the son of Puah, dwelling [Heb. *josheb*] in Shamir." No descendants are mentioned from Puah, Jashub, and Shimron, but only from Tola; and it has been suggested that these four sons of Issachar are imaginary, being simply deduced from the statement in Judges—Jashub=*josheb*, and Shimron=*Shamir*. This is very ingenious but by no means convincing.

Puah] In Gen. and Num. *Puvah* (R.V.).

Jashub] So in Num., but in Gen. *Iob*.

2. *of their fathers' houses*] i.e. clans or families; see note on v. 13.

in their generations] Render, **after** (or **according to**) **their generations**, the rendering given to the same phrase in Gen. x. 32, xxv. 13.

their number] i.e. of the divisions which claimed *Tola* as ancestor.

in the days of David] xxi. 1 ff. (=2 Sam. xxiv. 1 ff.).

of Izrahiah; Michael, and Obadiah, and Joel, Isshiah, five: all of them chief men. And with them, by their 4
generations, after their fathers' houses, were bands of the host for war, six and thirty thousand: for they had many wives and sons. And their brethren among all the families 5
of Issachar, mighty men of valour, reckoned in all by genealogy, were fourscore and seven thousand.

3. *five*] i.e. reckoning the four grandsons as sons.

4. *by their generations*] i.e. according to descent. Each head commanded men that were his kinsfolk.

5. *fourscore and seven thousand*] In Num. ii. 6 Issachar is reckoned at 54,400, and in Num. xxvi. 25 at 64,300.

6—12. The Genealogy of Zebulun.

6—12. According to the existing text these verses are a genealogy of Benjamin; but, as such, they present most serious difficulties. Notice (1) that the customary "sons of" is lacking in the Heb. text before Benjamin: (2) that the sons of Benjamin here number *three*, whereas in Num. xxvi. 38, 39, they are *five* (*five* also in 1 Chr. viii. 2 !), and in Gen. xlii. 21 *ten*; and further that one of the sons here mentioned, Jediael, is nowhere else referred to as a Benjamite: (3) that the sons of Bela (ver. 7) are entirely different in viii. 3: and (4) that in general the names in the list (with only three certain exceptions and two of them place-names) are not elsewhere found in lists of Benjamite names—a startling fact. (5) Finally and most important of all, a genealogy of Benjamin is given in ch. viii., exactly where we might expect to find it according to the order in which the Chronicler describes the tribes.

The first of these points could be (and has usually been) explained by the elision of some letters; for the words "the sons of" (B^{e}nê) in Heb. writing most closely resemble "Ben" the first syllable of Benjamin. For a few other minor difficulties tentative suggestions have been put forward, but are very unsatisfying, whilst for most of the features noted above, and especially for the most important of them, no proper explanation can be given on the supposition that the list really is a genealogy of Benjamin. It is therefore most probable that the view urged by Curtis, *ad loc.*, should be adopted. He finds in these verses the genealogy of *Zebulun*, the absence of which otherwise is a striking feature of the genealogies in these chapters. The letters which are now taken to be the first part of the word *Benjamin* should be read *B^{e}nê* (i.e. *the sons of*), and the following letters are a corruption of Zebulun, which was originally followed by the names of Zebulun's three sons, Sered and Elon and Jahleel, as given in Gen. xlvi. 14. The changes involved by this suggestion may seem violent in English, but they are by no means so in the Heb., and moreover it must be understood that they all follow

6 *The sons of* Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, and Jediael,
7 three. And the sons of Bela; Ezbon, and Uzzi, and Uzziel, and Jerimoth, and Iri, five; heads of fathers' houses, mighty men of valour; and they were reckoned by genealogy twenty and two thousand and thirty and four.
8 And the sons of Becher; Zemirah, and Joash, and Eliezer, and Elioenai, and Omri, and Jeremoth, and Abijah, and Anathoth, and Alemeth. All these were the sons of
9 Becher. And they were reckoned by genealogy, after their generations, heads of their fathers' houses, mighty men of
10 valour, twenty thousand and two hundred. And the sons of Jediael; Bilhan: and the sons of Bilhan; Jeush, and Benjamin, and Ehud, and Chenaanah, and Zethan, and
11 Tarshish, and Ahishahar. All these were sons of Jediael,

inevitably or at least most naturally upon the slight initial error whereby "the sons of Zebulun" was corrupted into "Benjamin." The development and details of Curtis' reasoning cannot be set forth except in connection with the Heb. text, and it must therefore suffice here to indicate the one essential point, and to remark that the convincing feature of his hypothesis is that it furnishes a clear and natural explanation of all the difficulties noted above.

6. *Bela, and Becher, and Jediael*] Contrast viii. 2. Read, following Gen. xlvi. 14, **Sered and Elon and Jahleel**.

7. *the sons of Bela*] Contrast viii. 3; and read instead the **sons of Sered.** These are differently stated in viii. 3—5.

8. *Becher*] Read **Elon.**

Anathoth, and Alemeth] both names of places in Benjamin; vi. 60 (45, *Heb.*, "Allemeth"); Jer. i. 1. These are the only place-names in the list, and they are admittedly Benjamite: as to the significance of this fact see note on *Ehud*, ver. 10.

10. *Jediael*] or rather *Jahleel.*

Benjamin, and Ehud] The error in ver. 6 by which this Zebulunite list becomes ostensibly Benjamite must have been very early. When once it had arisen, the tendency to introduce names which were to be expected in a Benjamite genealogy was inevitably strong. This is the ground on which the names *Anathoth* and *Alemeth* (ver. 8) are to be explained, as also *Shuppim* and *Huppim* (ver. 12). Most clearly, however, is the tendency illustrated by the present verse, where the reading *Benjamin and Ehud* most probably has its origin in a marginal addition "and Ehud the Benjamite" (from Jud. iii. 15) which was later inserted in the text as two separate names.

Tarshish] It is said of Zebulun in Gen. xlix. 13 that he shall be "a haven for ships," and *Tarshish*, absolutely unknown as a Hebrew personal name, is regularly used in the O.T. in connection with ships

according to the heads of their fathers' *houses*, mighty men of valour, seventeen thousand and two hundred, that were able to go forth in the host for war. [1]Shuppim also, and 12
Huppim, the sons of [2]Ir, Hushim, the sons of [3]Aher.

The sons of Naphtali; [4]Jahziel, and Guni, and Jezer, 13
and [5]Shallum, the sons of Bilhah.

The sons of Manasseh; Asriel, [6]whom *his wife* bare: (his 14
concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the father of Gilead:

[1] In Num. xxvi. 39, *Shephupham* and *Hupham*. [2] In ver. 7, *Iri*. [3] In Num. xxvi. 38, *Ahiram*. [4] In Gen. xlvi. 24, *Jahzeel*. [5] In Gen. xlvi. 24, *Shillem*. [6] Or, according to the Sept., *whom his concubine the Aramitess bare; she bare &c.*

and commerce by sea. It would be astonishingly out of place in a genealogy of Benjamin, but is appropriate in one of Zebulun (cf. Gen. xlix. 13 "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea").

11. *able to go forth*] the total number of warriors is here 59,434; cp. 50,000 in xii. 33; and cp. Num. i. 37, xxvi. 41.

12. *Shuppim also, and Huppim*] for the spelling cp. viii. 5, Num. xxvi. 39, and Gen. xlvi. 21. These Benjamite names are an addition, and illustrate the tendency referred to above in the note on *Benjamin and Ehud*, ver. 10.

12 b. The Genealogy of Dan.

Ir] Cp. ver. 7, Iri. But see following note.

Hushim, the sons of Aher] In *Aher* (lit. "another") some commentators find the word *Dan*. More probably *Ir* is a corruption for Dan, and the word *Aher* an error for "one" (the differences are small in Heb.). Following the indication of Gen. xlvi. 23 and the LXX., read therefore **the sons of Dan, Hushim his son, one.**

13. The Genealogy of Naphtali (=Gen. xlvi. 24).

13. *Jahziel...Shallum*] In Gen. *Jahzeel...Shillem*.

14—19. The Genealogy of Manasseh.

A difficult section. The text is much disturbed in vv. 14, 15; and there is hardly any material available for the illustration of vv. 16, 17.

14. *Asriel, whom* his wife *bare*: (*his concubine the Aramitess bare*] Cp. Num. xxvi. 31. Probably, however, the name is due to an error of dittography. Read simply as mg., following LXX., **whom his concubine the Aramitess bare; she bare**, etc.

his concubine the Aramitess] The inhabitants of Gilead were thus in part Arameans (Syrians) by descent. A different tradition is preserved in Gen. l. 23.

15 and Machir took a wife [1]of Huppim and Shuppim, [2]whose sister's name was Maacah;) and the name of the second
16 was Zelophehad: and Zelophehad had daughters. And Maacah the wife of Machir bare a son, and she called his name Peresh; and the name of his brother was Sheresh;
17 and his sons were Ulam and Rakem. And the sons of Ulam; Bedan. These were the sons of Gilead the son of
18 Machir, the son of Manasseh. And his sister [2]Hammo-
19 lecheth bare Ishhod, and [3]Abiezer, and Mahlah. And the sons of Shemida were Ahian, and Shechem, and Likhi, and Aniam.

20 And the sons of Ephraim; Shuthelah, and Bered his son, and Tahath his son, and Eleadah his son, and Tahath his
21 son, and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer,

[1] Or, *for* [2] Or, *and his* [3] In Num. xxvi. 30, *Iezer*.

15. *took a wife of Huppim and Shuppim*] i.e. allied himself by marriage to these two families.

whose sister's name] Render, **and his** (Machir's) **sister's name**. The statement regarding Maacah is ethnographical, and means that the people of Maacah (a district at the foot of Hermon) were related by blood to Machir (the Eastern Manassites).

Zelophehad had daughters] Num. xxvii. 1—11.

16. *wife of*] But in ver. 15, Maacah is sister of Machir. The text of vv. 15, 16 has probably suffered some disturbance.

17. *the sons of Ulam*] Sons of Ulam are mentioned (viii. 40) among the descendants of Benjamin: a variation in the tradition of their descent.

18. *Abiezer*] Gideon's family; Judg. vi. 11; cp. Josh. xvii. 2.

19. *Shechem*] This name represents the Israelite portion of the inhabitants of Shechem: the rest of the inhabitants were Hivites or Canaanites. See Judg. ix.

20—27. The Line of Ephraim to Joshua.

20—27. The section presents several difficulties, arising either from the attempt to combine various threads of traditions or possibly from textual corruption. Note that Ezer and Elead, who in ver. 21 are removed by several generations from Ephraim, are in ver. 22 f. treated as his immediate sons.

20. *Shuthelah...Bered...Tahath...Eleadah*] These four names appear to correspond with *Shuthelah...Becher...Tahan...Eran* in Num. xxvi. 35, 36.

and Elead, whom the men of Gath that were born in the land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle. And Ephraim their father mourned many days, 22
and his brethren came to comfort him. And he went in to 23
his wife, and she conceived, and bare a son, and he called his name Beriah, because it went evil with his house. And 24
his daughter was Sheerah, who built Beth-horon the nether and the upper, and Uzzen-sheerah. And Rephah was his 25
son, and Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son; 26
Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son; [1]Nun 27
his son, Joshua his son. And their possessions and habi- 28
tations were Beth-el and the [2]towns thereof, and eastward

[1] Heb. *Non.* [2] Heb. *daughters.*

21. *the men of Gath that were born in the land*] i.e. the Philistine population.

they came down] This phrase suits a descent from the hills of Ephraim into the Philistine lowlands. The raid presumably took place after the period of the Exodus and the settlement of Israel in Canaan. Yet it is also possible that the story should be classed with certain traditions which ignore the narrative of the Egyptian sojourn and the Exodus—see Cook, *Ency. Brit.*[11], s.v. *Genesis*, p. 584, col. 2.

22. *And Ephraim their father*] i.e. the tribe, or district, to which the clans, *Ezer* and *Elead*, belonged.

23. *Beriah, because it went evil*] Heb. **Beri'ah because it went berā'ah**, a play on the sound of the name. This is a feature characteristic of the patriarchal narratives in Genesis, cp. Gen. xxx. 11, etc. It is interesting to find it in the tradition upon which the Chronicler here depends. Cp. also iv. 9 (note).

24. *Beth-horon*] See vi. 68, note.

28, 29. Settlements of the Sons of Joseph.

The writer of these verses does not intend to give a full list of the seats of Ephraim (ver. 28) and Manasseh (ver. 29); but apparently to indicate the area and position of their territory by the mention of towns on the borders.

28. *Beth-el*] the southern boundary. Beth-el is the modern *Beitîn*, ten miles N. of Jerusalem (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 217). The city was on the border of Ephraim and Benjamin and in Josh. xviii. 22 is assigned to Benjamin, but it was originally conquered by Ephraim (Judg. i. 22), and during the division of the kingdom it belonged to the North: cp. 1 Kin. xii. 29, 32; 2 Chr. xiii. 19, note.

[1]Naaran, and westward Gezer, with the towns thereof;
Shechem also and the towns thereof, unto [2]Azzah and the
29 towns thereof: and by the borders of the children of
Manasseh, Beth-shean and her towns, Taanach and her
towns, Megiddo and her towns, Dor and her towns. In
these dwelt the children of Joseph the son of Israel.
30 The sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah, and Ishvi, and
31 Beriah, and Serah their sister. And the sons of Beriah;
32 Heber, and Malchiel, who was the father of Birzaith. And
Heber begat Japhlet, and [3]Shomer, and Hotham, and Shua
33 their sister. And the sons of Japhlet; Pasach, and Bimhal,
34 and Ashvath. These are the children of Japhlet. And the

[1] In Josh. xvi. 7, *Naarah*. [2] Many MSS. read, *Ayyah*.
[3] In ver. 34, *Shemer*.

Naaran] the eastern boundary. In Josh. xvi. 7, *Naarath* (R.V. *Naarah*).

Gezer...Shechem] On Gezer the western, and Shechem the northern boundary—see the note on vi. 67.

Azzah] or *Ayyah*, has not yet been identified. Probably, like Shechem, it serves to define the northern border between Ephraim and Manasseh.

29. For Manasseh four important towns are enumerated: Beth-shean on the east in the valley of the Jordan, Taanach and Megiddo in the plain of Esdraelon or Megiddo, and Dor on the Mediterranean coast, south of Mt Carmel.

Beth-shean] In 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12 spelt Beth-shan. It is the Greek *Scythopolis*, the modern *Beisan*.

Taanach] See vi. 70, note on *Aner*.

Megiddo] Judg. v. 19; 2 Kin. xxiii. 29; Zech. xii. 11.

Dor] modern *Tantura*. Cp. Josh. xvii. 11.

30—40. The Genealogy of Asher.

30. *The sons of Asher*] The names in vv. 30, 31 are derived from Gen. xlvi. 17 (cp. Num. xxvi. 44—46). There is no variation in the Heb. spelling of the names, but *Ishvah* is missing in Num. Either Ishvah or Ishvi must be regarded as an error of dittography.

Beriah] *Beriah* is mentioned above, ver. 23, as a clan of Ephraim, and appears also as a family of Benjamin, viii. 13, 16.

31. *Heber, and Malchiel*] The antiquity of these two names seems to be attested by the mention of "Habiri and Malchiel" in the Amarna tablets (*c.* 1400 B.C.).

Birzaith] probably the name of a place, "The well of the olive-tree."

sons of [1]Shemer; Ahi, and Rohgah, Jehubbah, and Aram.
And the [2]sons of Helem his brother; Zophah, and Imna, 35
and Shelesh, and Amal. The sons of Zophah; Suah, and 36
Harnepher, and Shual, and Beri, and Imrah; Bezer, and 37
Hod, and Shamma, and Shilshah, and Ithran, and Beera.
And the sons of Jether; Jephunneh, and Pispah, and Ara. 38
And the sons of Ulla; Arah, and Hanniel, and Rizia. All 39 40
these were the children of Asher, heads of the fathers'
houses, choice and mighty men of valour, chief of the
princes. And the number of them reckoned by genealogy
for service in war was twenty and six thousand men.

And Benjamin begat Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the 8
second, and Aharah the third; Nohah the fourth, and 2

[1] In ver. 32, *Shomer*. [2] Heb. *son*.

34, 35. *Shemer...Helem*] Read perhaps **Shomer...Hotham**, to agree with ver. 32.

40. *twenty and six thousand*] In xii. 36 the men of war of Asher are reckoned at forty thousand (cp. Num. i. 41, xxvi. 47, where still higher reckonings are given). The numbers here and in vv. 5, 7, 9, 11 (as well as in ver. 2, which see) are perhaps supposed to refer to the time of David. The numbers may be based on family traditions, but no important conclusions ought to be drawn from them.

CH. VIII. **1—40** (cp. vii. 6—12). THE GENEALOGY OF BENJAMIN.

1—40. Various indications combine to show that the names in this list reflect post-exilic conditions. It has generally been compared with the "Benjamite" genealogy in vii. 6—12 which was supposed to express the relationships and strength of the tribe at the time of David. If, however, according to the view adopted in this volume, the passage vii. 6—12 is in reality a genealogy of Zebulun, comparison between it and this list is futile. Such parallels as can justly be made between the names in the two lists are due to the Benjamite colouring which has been imparted to vii. 6—12 after the initial error in vii. 6 turned the "sons of Zebulun" into "Benjamin."

This, the real genealogy of Benjamin, unfortunately presents not a few problems for which as yet no convincing solution can be offered. The difficulties are due in large measure to the corrupt state of the text in several verses: esp. vv. 6—14.

1. *Benjamin begat...*] Cp. Gen. xlvi. 21.

firstborn] = *Becher* in Gen. xlvi. 21. In the unvocalised Heb. text the noun and proper name are represented by the same letters, *BKR*.

Ashbel] lit. "man of Baal." Cp. note on Eshbaal, ver. 33.

2. *Nohah...Huram*] the list is assuredly based on Gen. xlvi. 21 and

3 Rapha the fifth. And Bela had sons, [1]Addar, and Gera,
4, 5 and Abihud; and Abishua, and Naaman, and Ahoah; and
6 Gera, and [2]Shephuphan, and Huram. And these are the
sons of Ehud; these are the heads of fathers' *houses* of the
inhabitants of Geba, and they carried them captive to
7 Manahath: and Naaman, and Ahijah, and Gera, he carried
8 them captive; and he begat Uzza and Ahihud. And
Shaharaim begat children in the field of Moab, after he had
9 [3]sent them away; Hushim and Baara were his wives. And
he begat of Hodesh his wife, Jobab, and Zibia, and Mesha,
10 and Malcam; and Jeuz, and Shachia, and Mirmah. These
11 were his sons, heads of fathers' *houses*. And of Hushim he

[1] In Gen. xlvi. 21, *Ard*. [2] In Num. xxvi. 39, *Shephupham*.
[3] Or, *sent away Hushim and Baara his wives*

Num. xxvi. 38—40, despite the surface divergences. Several of the changes are due to textual errors, e.g. Aharah and Ahoah are probably both variants of Ahiram (Gen. xlvi. 21).

3. *Abihud*] read perhaps (a slight change in the Heb.) **Gera, father of Ehud.**

5. *Shephuphan, and Huram*] See vii. 12, note on *Shuppim*.

6—28. Apparently a list of five post-exilic families [Elpaal (vv. 11, 18), Beriah (vv. 13, 16), Shema (vv. 13, 21), Shashak (vv. 14, 25), and Jeroham (vv. 14, 27)], whose genealogy seems to be traced from Ehud, and whose descendants reside in Jerusalem (so ver. 28, but see note *ad loc.*). The uncertainty on the former point is the inevitable consequence of the corrupt state of the text in vv. 6—14.

6. *Ehud*] *Ehud* (the deliverer of Israel from Moab) was descended from *Gera* (ver. 5; Judg. iii. 15).

Geba] Cp. vi. 60.

they carried them captive] an utterly obscure phrase, most probably due to textual error. It is a plausible suggestion that the phrase is a corruption of proper names commencing the list which we should expect to follow the preceding words: "*these are the heads of*," etc. Hogg, *J. Q. R.* XI. 102 ff., therefore conjectured the names "**Iglaam and Alemoth**"; and similarly in ver. 7, in place of the equally obscure words "*he carried them captive; and he*," he would read "**and Iglaam begat.**"

7. *Naaman, and Ahijah, and Gera*] perhaps to be deleted, as a repetition of ver. 5.

8, 9. Again the Heb. text appears to be in disorder, and the verses in consequence are so obscure that conjectures are all precarious.

Hushim] is elsewhere the name of a man. Hence ver. 11 below should perhaps read **And Hushim begat**....

begat Abitub and Elpaal. And the sons of Elpaal; Eber, 12
and Misham, and Shemed, who built Ono and Lod, with
the towns thereof: and Beriah, and Shema, who were heads 13
of fathers' *houses* of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who put
to flight the inhabitants of Gath; and Ahio, Shashak, and 14
Jeremoth; and Zebadiah, and Arad, and Eder; and Michael, 15 16
and Ishpah, and Joha, the sons of Beriah; and Zebadiah, 17
and Meshullam, and Hizki, and Heber; and Ishmerai, and 18
Izliah, and Jobab, the sons of Elpaal; and Jakim, and 19
Zichri, and Zabdi; and Elienai and Zillethai, and Eliel; 20
and Adaiah, and Beraiah, and Shimrath, the sons of 21 22
[1]Shimei; and Ishpan, and Eber, and Eliel; and Abdon, 23
and Zichri, and Hanan; and Hananiah, and Elam, and 24
Anthothijah; and Iphdeiah, and Penuel, the sons of 25

[1] In ver. 13, *Shema*.

11. *Abitub*] no sons of his are recorded.

12. *sons of Elpaal*] Elpaal's sons are given also and more fully in vv. 17, 18; and, as the three names in the present verse appear to be transcriptional variants of three mentioned in 17, 18, it is probable that this verse is a marginal note which has crept into the text.

who built Ono and Lod] the subject is not *Shemed*, but *Elpaal*; "built," i.e. entered into possession of. Ono and Lod (=Lydda), some seven and eleven miles respectively south of Jaffa, are referred to in Neh. vii. 35, xi. 35, and Ezr. ii. 33. The Targum adds, *which the sons of Israel laid waste and burnt with fire, when they made war in Gibeah with the tribe of Benjamin.*

13. *Aijalon*] Cp. Josh. x. 12. It was situated near the Jaffa road, about thirteen miles from Jerusalem.

who put...Gath] an interesting remark, which should be compared with vii. 21, 23—note the name *Beriah* in both passages. The relation of the two passages is, however, uncertain.

14. *And Ahio, Shashak, and Jeremoth*] Read, following LXX., **And their brethren Shashak and Jeremoth.** The pronoun of course refers to *Beriah* and *Shema* (ver. 13), and to *Abitub* and *Elpaal* (ver. 11)—these four, with *Shashak* and *Jeremoth*, being sons of *Hushim*, if ver. 11 be emended and vv. 12, 13 be regarded as a marginal addition, as is suggested above.

20. *Elienai*] Read, perhaps, *Elioenai*, a name meaning "My eyes look towards Jehovah," cp. iii. 23.

21. *Shimei*] =*Shema* (ver. 13).

24. *Anthothijah*] The name is a trace of an ancient Egyptian war-goddess '*Anath*, apparently associated with Jehovah in the Jewish temple at Elephantine (see '*Anath-bethel* in the papyri). Cp. also *Anathoth* near Jerusalem.

26 Shashak; and Shamsherai, and Shehariah, and Athaliah;
27 and Jaareshiah, and Elijah, and Zichri, the sons of Jero-
28 ham. These were heads of fathers' *houses* throughout their
29 generations, chief men: these dwelt in Jerusalem. And in
Gibeon there dwelt the father of Gibeon, *Jeiel*, whose wife's
30 name was Maacah: and his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur,
31 and Kish, and Baal, and Nadab; and Gedor, and Ahio,
32 and [1]Zecher. And Mikloth begat [2]Shimeah. And they also
dwelt with their brethren in Jerusalem, over against their
33 brethren. And Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul;
and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and [3]Abinadab,

[1] In ch. ix. 37, *Zechariah*. [2] In ch. ix. 38, *Shimeam*.
[3] In 1 Sam. xiv. 49, *Ishvi*.

27. *Jeroham*] =Jeremoth (ver. 14).

28. *these dwelt in Jerusalem*] i.e. in the writer's day the heads of families enumerated in vv. 15—27 dwelt in Jerusalem. Cp. ix. 2, 3; Neh. xi. 1—8. But the words may be a gloss brought in from ix. 34 along with the following verses (see below).

29—38 (=ch. ix. 35—44). The Genealogy of the house of Saul.

29—38. These verses, which set forth the ancestors and descendants of Saul, are found also in ix. 35—44, where they serve as the introduction to the account of Saul's death in ch. x. The latter passage would naturally seem to be the original place of these verses, but the arguments in favour of that view are not conclusive, and the point must be allowed to be doubtful.

29. *Gibeon*] some six miles N. of Jerusalem, was apparently the residence in post-exilic days of families which claimed descent from the house of Saul. Cp. 2 Chr. i. 3.

Jeiel] added in accordance with ix. 35.

30. *and Baal*] Add with LXX. (A) and ix. 36 **and Ner.** LXX. (B) shows that a word is missing after *Baal* for it reads **Βααλαναλμ** (=Βαὰλ καὶ Ν...?).

31. *and Zecher*] Read with ix. 37, **and Zechariah, and Mikloth.**

32. *with their brethren*, etc.] i.e. with some of their brethren in Jerusalem over against other of their brethren in Gibeon and other places. "They" would seem to refer to *Mikloth* and *Shimeah*, but the clause is far from clear, and it may be noted that ver. 32 *b* looks like the heading of a list that has been lost.

33. *begat Kish*] here and in ix. 39, read **begat Abner**—as in 1 Sam. xiv. 51, etc.

Jonathan...Abinadab] Slain with Saul on Mt Gilboa; x. 2; 1 Sam. xxxi. 2.

and [1]Eshbaal. And the son of Jonathan was [2]Merib-baal; 34
and Merib-baal begat Micah. And the sons of Micah; 35
Pithon, and Melech, and [3]Tarea, and Ahaz. And Ahaz 36
begat [4]Jehoaddah; and Jehoaddah begat Alemeth, and
Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat Moza: and Moza 37
begat Binea; [5]Raphah was his son, Eleasah his son, Azel
his son: and Azel had six sons, whose names are these; 38
Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Shearíah, and Obadiah,
and Hanan. All these were the sons of Azel. And the 39
sons of Eshek his brother; Ulam his firstborn, Jeush the
second, and Eliphelet the third. And the sons of Ulam 40
were mighty men of valour, archers, and had many sons,
and sons' sons, an hundred and fifty. All these were of the
sons of Benjamin.

[1] In 2 Sam. ii. 8, *Ishbosheth*. [2] In 2 Sam. iv. 4, ix. 6, 10, *Mephibosheth*. [3] In ch. ix. 41, *Tahrea*. [4] In ch. ix. 42, *Jarah*. [5] In ch. ix. 43, *Rephaiah*.

Eshbaal] In 2 Sam. ii. 8 called *Ish-bosheth*. In the (more generally read) Sam. text the offensive name *Eshbaal*, "Man (i.e. worshipper) of Baal," has been changed to *Ishbosheth*, "Man of the Shameful-thing" (i.e. of the idol), but it has been left standing in the less-used text of Chron. The title *Baal* ("Lord") was applied in early days (e.g. in the days of Saul) to the national God of Israel, but in later days the prophets objected to it because of its general use in designation of the heathen gods also. Hosea (ii. 17), for example, declares that the true worshippers of Jehovah must no longer call him "My Baal" (*Baali*). Thus to Saul and Samuel the name *Eshbaal* was acceptable as meaning "Man of the Lord," i.e. of Jehovah, but to the late reviser of the book of Samuel it was offensive as signifying "Man of Baal," i.e. of one of the gods worshipped by the old Canaanite peoples or by the neighbouring nations. Since the text of Chronicles has retained such forms as Eshbaal (here), Ashbel (ver. 1), it seems that the conscientious alterations of such forms in the books of Samuel, Kings, etc., are later than the time of the Chronicler.

34. *Merib-baal*] A name meaning "Baal pleadeth"; in ch. ix. 40 *b* (Heb.) it is written *Meri-baal*, i.e. "Man of Baal." The person meant seems to be *Mephibosheth* (2 Sam. ix. 6, 12).

35. *Tarea*] In ix. 41, *Tahrea*.

36. *Jehoaddah*] In ix. 42, *Jarah*.

37. *Raphah*] In ix. 43, *Rephaiah*.

9 So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold,
they are written in the book of the kings of Israel: and
Judah was carried away captive to Babylon for their trans-
2 gression. Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in their
possessions in their cities were, Israel, the priests, the

CH. IX. 1—17 (cp. Neh. xi. 1—19). THE HEADS OF THE FAMILIES WHICH DWELT IN JERUSALEM.

Verses 2—17 contain the lists of the heads of families of Judah (3—6), of Benjamin (7—9), of the priests (10—13), of the Levites (14—16), and of the porters (17), who dwelt in Jerusalem at some period after the Return (cp. note on ver. 2). A similar list (with some variations which are recorded in their places in the following notes) occurs in Neh. xi. 3—19. The partial agreement coupled with the partial divergence of the two lists may be explained by supposing that both are extracts independently made from the same document, and have been inserted, one in Chron., the other in Neh., lest the peculiarities of either list should be lost. We may conclude from Neh. xi. 1, 2 that both lists represent the population of Jerusalem, after Nehemiah had taken measures for increasing it. Another way of accounting for the divergences in the two lists is to suppose that the present list represents the Jerusalem of a later period than the list in Neh. See also ver. 17.

1. *in the book of the kings of Israel*] See Introd. § 5, B (3). The LXX., however, reads "in the book of the kings of Israel *and Judah*." With the LXX. reading, *all Israel* must be taken as subject of the verb *was carried away*, but of course the phrase must still be taken as meaning an "Israel" = Judah.

2. *the first inhabitants*] It has been thought that the word "first" here refers to *pre-eminence* (cp. Neh. xi. 3), and that the list which follows (vv. 4 ff.) is a list of *chief men*. It is better, however, to take "first" in a temporal sense, meaning "pre-exilic," and to suppose that the Chronicler or whoever placed this chapter here mistakenly imagined this list to be a pre-exilic register. That it is not really pre-exilic is certain by reason of its vital connection with the post-exilic list in Neh. xi. 3—19. The suggestion that the resemblances are due to the continuity of population in Jerusalem before and after the exile is utterly improbable.

in their cities] The phrase is apparently an abridgment of words in Neh. xi. 3, and is really meaningless in the present context. In Neh. it signifies "townships in Judah" where certain persons, who now elected to dwell in Jerusalem, had formerly resided.

Israel] i.e. laymen as distinguished from men of Levitical descent. According to ver. 3 *Israel* included at least Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh (cp. Ps. lxxx. 2, where Judah—the speaker—associates Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh with herself in her appeal to the

Levites, and the Nethinim. And in Jerusalem dwelt of 3
the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin,
and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh; Uthai the 4
son of Ammihud, the son of Omri, the son of Imri, the son
of Bani, of the children of Perez the son of Judah. And of 5
the Shilonites; Asaiah the firstborn, and his sons. And 6
of the sons of Zerah; Jeuel, and their brethren, six hundred
and ninety. And of the sons of Benjamin; Sallu the son 7
of Meshullam, the son of Hodaviah, the son of Hassenuah;
and Ibneiah the son of Jeroham, and Elah the son of Uzzi, 8
the son of Michri, and Meshullam the son of Shephatiah,
the son of Reuel, the son of Ibnijah; and their brethren, 9

God of *Israel*. See also note on 2 Chron. xxx. 18). This is a totally different usage from that of earlier times, when *Israel* meant the Northern kingdom, and *Judah* the Southern.

Nethinim] These were a class of Temple servants reckoned as inferior to the Levites. Perhaps they were of foreign extraction and included the Gibeonites (cp. Josh. ix. 23). They are mentioned nowhere else in the Old Testament except in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

3. *of Ephraim and Manasseh*] See note on 2 Chron. xxx. 18.

4—6 (cp. Neh. xi. 4—6). THE SONS OF JUDAH.

4. *Uthai*] In Neh. *Athaiah*. The two words are more alike in Heb. than in English and are perhaps various readings of one name.

Perez] Cp. ii. 4, 5. We have here (vv. 4—6) a threefold division of the tribe of Judah into the descendants of Perez, Shelah, and Zerah, just as in Num. xxvi. 20.

5. *Shilonites*] Or *Shelanites* as Num. xxvi. 20; they were descendants of Shelah, who is mentioned as a son of Judah in ii. 3. For other descendants, see iv. 21 f., and Neh. xi. 5.

Asaiah] In Neh. xi. 5 *Maaseiah*, a kindred name.

6. *Jeuel*] In Neh. xi. 5 the "sons of Zerah" are missing.

six hundred and ninety] Cp. Neh. xi. 6 (*four hundred threescore and eight* sons of *Perez*) where *Perez* may be an error for *Zerah*.

7—9 (cp. Neh. xi. 7—9). THE SONS OF BENJAMIN.

7. *Sallu*] His genealogy is differently stated in Neh. xi. 7, but see next note.

the son of Hodaviah, the son of Hassenuah] Read perhaps **Judah, the son of Hassenuah** (cp. Neh. xi. 9). *Hodaviah* and *Judah* could easily be confused in Heb.

8. *Ibneiah, Elah, Meshullam*] Not mentioned in Neh. xi.

according to their generations, nine hundred and fifty and six. All these men were heads of fathers' *houses* by their fathers' houses.

10 And of the priests; Jedaiah, and Jehoiarib, and Jachin;
11 and [1]Azariah the son of Hilkiah, the son of Meshullam, the son of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub, the
12 ruler of the house of God; and Adaiah the son of Jeroham, the son of Pashhur, the son of Malchijah, and Maasai the son of Adiel, the son of Jahzerah, the son of Meshullam,
13 the son of Meshillemith, the son of Immer; and their brethren, heads of their fathers' houses, a thousand and

[1] In Neh. xi. 11, *Seraiah*.

9. *nine hundred and fifty and six*] 928 in Neh. xi. 8.

10—13 (cp. Neh. xi. 10—14). THE PRIESTS.

10. *Jehoiarib*] Spelt *Joiarib* in Neh. xi. 10. *Jehoiarib* and *Jedaiah* occur as names of the first and second courses of the priests in xxiv. 7; Neh. xii. 6, 19. The Maccabees were of the course of Joarib (=Jehoiarib); 1 Macc. ii. 1.

Jachin] The name of the twenty-first course; xxiv. 17.

11. *Azariah*] In Neh. xi. 11, *Seraiah*.

the ruler of the house of God] This title could perhaps be borne by the high-priest (2 Chr. xxxi. 10, 13), but in any case it was not confined to him (*ib.* xxxv. 8, where several such "rulers" are mentioned; cp. also Jer. xx. 1; Acts iv. 1).

12. *Malchijah*] The name of the fifth course; xxiv. 9.

Maasai] The reading of Neh. xi. 13 *Amashsai* is corrupt. The form given in Chron. is open to suspicion. Probably the true reading is lost.

Adiel] In Neh. *Azareel*.

Immer] The name of the sixteenth course; xxiv. 14.

13. *a thousand and seven hundred and threescore*] Only the five "courses" of priests mentioned above (viz. Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, and Jachin, ver. 10, and Malchijah and Immer, ver. 12) seem to be included in this reckoning. Some commentators, however, regard Azariah (=Seraiah) in ver. 11 as the name of a new course, which took the place of one of the courses reckoned in xxiv. 7—18. If this be right we have here the sum of *six* courses.

In Neh. xi. 12—14 the number of the priests is given on a different plan; *eight hundred and twenty-two* "did the work of the house"; *two hundred and forty-two* were "chiefs of fathers' houses"; *an hundred and twenty-eight* were "mighty men of valour." The total falls far short of the *thousand and seven hundred and threescore* of Chron. We have not sufficient data on which to base any explanation of the different totals.

seven hundred and threescore; very able men for the work of the service of the house of God. And of the Levites; 14
Shemaiah the son of Hasshub, the son of Azrikam, the son of Hashabiah, of the sons of Merari; and Bakbakkar, 15
Heresh, and Galal, and Mattaniah the son of Mica, the son of [1]Zichri, the son of Asaph; and [2]Obadiah the son of 16
[3]Shemaiah, the son of Galal, the son of Jeduthun, and Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah, that dwelt in the

[1] In Neh. xi. 17, *Zabdi*. [2] In Neh. xi. 17, *Abda*. [3] In Neh. xi. 17, *Shammua*.

very able men] The Heb. is the same as in Neh. xi. 14 and is usually rendered *mighty men of valour*. The sense, however, is no doubt correctly given by R.V. *very able*, or *efficient*. Cp. 2 Chr. xxvi. 17.

14—16 (cp. Neh. xi. 15—18). THE LEVITES.

14. *of the sons of Merari*] In Neh. *the sons of Bunni*, which is probably a corruption of the reading of Chron. Otherwise of the three great Levitical families, Merari, Asaph, and Jeduthun, mentioned here, only the last two appear in Neh.

15. *Bakbakkar, Heresh, and Galal*] The reading appears to be corrupt, for the analogy of the latter half of the verse as well as of vv. 14, 16 leads us to expect something more than bare names. Neither the LXX. nor the Vulg. gives any real help for emending the clause. The corresponding words in Neh. (xi. 17) are *Bakbukiah the second among his brethren*.

16. *Obadiah the son of Shemaiah*] In Neh. *Abda the son of Shammua*. Which was the reading of the original document cannot be determined.

Jeduthun] See note on xvi. 41.

Berechiah the son of Asa, the son of Elkanah] Not mentioned in Neh. He probably represented the Kohathite division of the singers; cp. vi. 33—38 (18—23 *Heb.*), where the name *Elkanah* occurs several times in the genealogy of the Kohathites.

the villages of the Netophathites] Cp. Neh. xii. 28, 29 (R.V.), whence it appears that these villages were close to Jerusalem. The exact site is uncertain.

17—27 (cp. Neh. xi. 19; 1 Chr. xxvi. 1—19). ORGANISATION AND DUTIES OF THE PORTERS (DOORKEEPERS).

17—27. The same subject is treated in xxvi. 1—19, and this fact has been urged as an argument for the view that ch. ix. is an addition to the Chronicler's work (see Introd. p. xxiii). But it is also reasonable

17 villages of the Netophathites. And the porters; Shallum,
and Akkub, and Talmon, and Ahiman, and their brethren:
18 Shallum was the chief; who hitherto *waited* in the king's
gate eastward: they were the porters for the camp of the
19 children of Levi. And Shallum the son of Kore, the son

to suppose that the Chronicler would here give a register of inhabitants of Jerusalem (which could not be included in the list of the separate tribes), and such a register would probably give a survey of the Levitical classes.

The verses present on analysis several confusing features, see notes on vv. 17, 22, 25, 33.

17. *And the porters*] Render, **doorkeepers** as in xvi. 38 and xxvi. 1. In Solomon's Temple there were "keepers of the threshold," three in number (2 Kin. xxv. 18), priests in rank (*ibid.* xii. 9).

A distinction between the doorkeepers and the Levites (ver. 14) seems to be implied, but in vv. 19, 26 the doorkeepers, or at any rate their leaders, are called Levites (cp. Neh. xi. 15, 19 with 1 Chr. xxvi.). The supposed distinction may have died out before the Chronicler's period, or perhaps earlier and later stages are reflected in the chapter (see also the note on ver. 26).

Shallum...Ahiman] These two names are absent from Neh. xi. 19 together with the clause *Shallum was the chief*. This omission of all reference to Shallum must be accidental.

Shallum, and Akkub, and Talmon] The three names represent families, not individuals; cp. Ezra ii. 42 = Neh. vii. 45, where the fuller form is given, *the children of Shallum,...the children of Talmon, the children of Akkub*.... These names persist in the five lists of porters which refer to post-exilic times; Ezra ii. 42 = Neh. vii. 45; Neh. xi. 19 = 1 Chr. ix. 17 (*Shallum* is to be supplied in Neh. from Chron.); Neh. xii. 5 (*Meshullam* = *Shallum*). For the Chronicler's traditions of Levites, singers, and doorkeepers of the Davidic period, see chs. xv., xxiv. ff.

Ahiman] Elsewhere in the O.T. this name occurs only among the names of the sons of Anak, and it is probable that the Chronicler (or some scribe) made here an error of transcription, and that AHIMAN has arisen from the word AHEIHEM "their brethren" which follows. A fourth name was probably given in the original text, for see ver. 26.

18. *who*] i.e. *Shallum* (ver. 17), called *Shelemiah* in xxvi. 14 (= Meshelemiah, *ib.* ver. 1). As mentioned above, a family is meant.

hitherto] i.e. to the time of the Chronicler.

the king's gate eastward] That the king had an entrance into the Temple named after him appears from 2 Kin. xvi. 18, and that this gate was on the east from Ezek. xlvi. 1, 2.

for the camp of the children of Levi] i.e. the Temple; but the phrase, which is derived from Numb. ii. 17, in its original context of course signifies the Tabernacle of the Mosaic period. Doubtless it is used

of Ebiasaph, the son of Korah, and his brethren, of his father's house, the Korahites, were over the work of the service, keepers of the [1]gates of the [2]tabernacle: and their fathers had been over the camp of the LORD, keepers of the entry; and Phinehas the son of Eleazar was ruler over them 20 in time past, *and* the LORD was with him. Zechariah the 21 son of Meshelemiah was porter of the door of the tent of meeting. All these which were chosen to be porters in the 22 [1]gates were two hundred and twelve. These were reckoned by genealogy in their villages, whom David and Samuel the

[1] Heb. *thresholds.* [2] Heb. *Tent.*

with the implication that the institution of the gatekeepers dated back to that age: cp. ver. 19 *ad fin.*, and contrast ver. 22.

19. *over the camp of the LORD, keepers*] We might expect the reference to the Temple or Tabernacle to be continued; but, as nothing is said in the Pentateuch of "keepers of the entry *to the tabernacle*," probably the entry *to the camp*, not to the tabernacle, is meant in the present phrase. With this view agrees the mention of Phinehas (ver. 20), for it apparently was the profanation of the camp in general, not of the tabernacle, which Phinehas avenged (Num. xxv. 6—8), thus earning a blessing (*ib.* 11—13).

20. and *the LORD was with him*] Render, **May the Lord be with him**, a pious exclamation, customary on mentioning the name of a famous and righteous person deceased. The phrase is common in later Jewish literature; but this passage seems to be the earliest instance of its use.

21. *Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah*] Cp. xxvi. 2, 14, according to which Zechariah's watch was on the north.

the tent of meeting] The reference would be to the Mosaic tent, if the verse be taken, as is natural, in close connection with vv. 19, 20. If the verse be treated in conjunction with ver. 22 it must refer to the tent of the ark in David's time. The ambiguity is perhaps intentional.

22. *All these*] Cp. Ezra ii. 42 (=Neh. vii. 45); Neh. xi. 19. The discrepancy in numbers between Chron. and Neh. and also between Neh. vii. and Neh. xi. may be explained by supposing some difference in the manner of reckoning or some difference in the period referred to.

in their villages] Cp. vv. 16 and 25.

whom David...did ordain] The Chronicler attributes to David the organisation of the priests (xxiv. 3), of the Levites (xxiii. 27; xxiv. 31), of the singers (xxv. 1 ff.), and of the doorkeepers (in this passage). It has been thought that this verse is at variance with vv. 18, 19, where the Mosaic origin of the gatekeepers seems to be implied. But in answer it may be said that the Chronicler is guilty of no inconsistency in ascribing the *origin* of the doorkeepers to the Mosaic period and saying here that David and Samuel "ordained them in their set office,"

23 seer did ordain in their [1]set office. So they and their
children had the oversight of the gates of the house of
24 the LORD, even the house of the [2]tabernacle, by wards. [3]On
the four sides were the porters, toward the east, west, north,
25 and south. And their brethren, in their villages, were to
come in every seven days from time to time to be with
26 them: for the four chief porters, who were Levites, were in
a set office, and were over the chambers and over the

[1] Or, *trust* [2] Heb. *Tent.* [3] Heb. *Towards the four winds.*

for the phrase refers, not to their origin, but to their *organisation*. For another suggestion see below on ver. 26.

Samuel] The association of Samuel with the organisation of the sanctuary is confined to this passage, and is a significant illustration of the working of late Jewish thought, which was little concerned with historic probability and much with edification. The tradition has probably arisen from the remark in 1 Sam. iii. 15, that Samuel "opened the doors of the house of the Lord." As Samuel died before the reign of David, the Chronicler doubtless does not intend to represent him as contemporary with David in the organisation of the Temple, but probably supposes that Samuel's work was done in connection with the tent, which according to the Chronicler was located in Gibeon (2 Chr. i. 3).

the seer] For the title, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29; 1 Sam. ix. 9; and cp. 2 Chr. xvi. 7.

in their set office] or *in their trust*; i.e. in their responsible positions.

23. *the house of the tabernacle*] mg. *Tent.* The phrase designates the period before the building of the Temple.

24. *On the four sides*] Fuller details are given in xxvi. 14—18.

25. *in their villages*] No special villages inhabited by porters are mentioned, but perhaps porters as well as singers dwelt in the "villages of the Netophathites" (ver. 16; Neh. xii. 28, R.V.).

26. *the four chief porters, who were Levites*] It seems clear from this verse (and from the structure of the chapter, cp. vv. 10, 14, 17—as is pointed out in the note on ver. 17) that the doorkeepers were not, as a body, Levites; and according to ver. 25 they dwelt outside Jerusalem, whilst their leaders (ver. 27) were within the city. Perhaps this distinction between the leaders and the rank and file could be used to explain the supposed inconsistency (if any exists—see above ver. 22, note on *whom David...*) between vv. 19 and 22, as regards the tradition of origin: it might be said that whilst the leaders claimed that their office dated from the time of Moses (ver. 19), the rank and file traced their institution to David (ver. 22). (In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9 Levites appear exercising the duties of doorkeepers, but this does not prove that all doorkeepers were Levites.)

chambers] i.e. store-chambers in which tithes and sacred vessels were

treasuries in the house of God. And they lodged round 27
about the house of God, because the charge *thereof* was
upon them, and to them pertained the opening thereof
morning by morning. And certain of them had charge of 28
the vessels of service; for by tale were they brought in and
by tale were they taken out. Some of them also were 29
appointed over the furniture, and over all the vessels of the
sanctuary, and over the fine flour, and the wine, and the oil,
and the frankincense, and the spices. And some of the 30
sons of the priests prepared the confection of the spices.
And Mattithiah, one of the Levites, who was the firstborn 31
of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things
that were baked in pans. And some of their brethren, of 32
the sons of the Kohathites, were over the shewbread, to

kept; cp. 2 Chr. xxxi. 5, 11, 12; Neh. xiii. 4—9: in ver. 33 of this chapter they seem to be in use also as rooms in which Levites could dwell. The chambers were probably built as outbuildings round the Court of the Temple; cp. xxiii. 28, xxviii. 12.

28, 29. Duties of the Levites.

28. *And certain of them*] The reference is to the Levites. The contents of vv. 28, 29 clearly refer to Levitical duties (cp. xxiii. 29), and the transition from porters to Levites is made easier by the fact that the four porters last mentioned (vv. 26, 27) are Levites. Some commentators hold that the paragraph dealing with the duties of the Levites begins in ver. 26 with the words "*And they were over*," etc.

29. Cp. xxiii. 29.

30. A Priestly Duty.

30. *the sons of the priests*] i.e. "members of the priesthood, priests." Cp. 2 Chr. xxv. 13, "the soldiers of the army" (lit. "the sons of the troop") and the common expression "the sons of the prophets."

confection] (For the word, cp. 1 Sam. viii. 13, R.V. text and mg.) This "ointment" was peculiarly holy (Ex. xxx. 23—25). The Levites might have charge of the oil and spices (ver. 29), but only the priests might make the confection.

31, 32. Other Levitical Duties.

31. *who was the firstborn of Shallum*] In xxvi. 2 the firstborn of Meshelemiah (=Shallum) is called *Zechariah*. Probably *Mattithiah* and *Zechariah* represent *each* a household belonging to an elder branch of the great family of *Shallum*.

32. *the shewbread*] Lit. *the bread of the Row* (or *of the Pile*), for

33 prepare it every sabbath. And these are the singers, heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, *who dwelt* in the chambers *and were* free *from other service*: for they were employed in their
34 work day and night. These were heads of fathers' *houses* of the Levites, throughout their generations, chief men: these dwelt at Jerusalem.

35 And in Gibeon there dwelt the father of Gibeon, Jeiel,
36 whose wife's name was Maacah: and his firstborn son Abdon, and Zur, and Kish, and Baal, and Ner, and Nadab;
37 38 and Gedor, and Ahio, and Zechariah, and Mikloth. And Mikloth begat Shimeam. And they also dwelt with their
39 brethren in Jerusalem, over against their brethren. And Ner begat Kish; and Kish begat Saul; and Saul begat Jonathan, and Malchi-shua, and Abinadab, and Eshbaal.
40 And the son of Jonathan was Merib-baal; and Merib-baal
41 begat Micah. And the sons of Micah; Pithon, and Melech,
42 and Tahrea, *and Ahaz*. And Ahaz begat Jarah; and Jarah begat Alemeth, and Azmaveth, and Zimri; and Zimri begat
43 Moza: and Moza begat Binea; and Rephaiah his son,
44 Eleasah his son, Azel his son: and Azel had six sons, whose names are these; Azrikam, Bocheru, and Ishmael, and Sheariah, and Obadiah, and Hanan: these were the sons of Azel.

it had to be arranged in order before the Lord (Lev. xxiv. 6). The Chronicler prefers this term to the older "Bread of the Presence" (i.e. of Jehovah). See more fully Driver, *Exodus*, pp. 274, 275, in this series.

to prepare it every sabbath] "Every sabbath he shall set it in order before the LORD continually" (Lev. xxiv. 8). In 2 Chr. ii. 4 (=ii. 3, *Heb.*) it is called *the continual shewbread* (lit. "the continual Row").

33. *And these are*] This verse may be intended as a conclusion to vv. 15, 16, for the names there given are those of singers; cp. Neh. xi. 17. On the other hand it may have been intended as the heading of such a list as appears in vi. 33—47 (=18—32, Heb.), the list itself having somehow been omitted.

day and night] Cp. Ps. cxxxiv. 1; Rev. iv. 8.

35—44 (=viii. 29—38). THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF SAUL.

See notes on viii. 29 ff. The passage serves here as an introduction to the story of the death of Saul. Whether it is in its original setting

Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men 10
of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and fell down
[1]slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard 2

[1] Or, *wounded*

here or in viii. 29 ff., or possibly is original in both chapters, there is not sufficient evidence to determine (see note on viii. 29).

Chapters X.—XXIX. The Reign of David.

At this point the Chronicler begins his narrative of Israel's history. It commences abruptly with an account of the defeat and death of Saul, which however is given not for its own interest, but to serve as a brief introduction to the reign of David (ch. xi. ff.). Why does the Chronicler choose to begin his narrative at this point, passing over in silence (*a*) the Mosaic period, (*b*) the stories of Judges and of 1 Samuel i.—xxx.? As regards (*a*) his silence is due to the assumption that those for whom he writes are no less familiar than he is himself with the account of the Mosaic age as presented by the fully developed tradition of the Pentateuch. As for (*b*), his silence probably arises neither from the difficulty of retelling the narratives of Judges in accordance with his theory of the early history, nor yet from the fact that they were doubtless familiar to his readers; but, again, from a consideration of the central purpose of his work. His theme is the Divine guidance of Israel's destiny, and, since that destiny had ultimately centred upon the fortunes of Jerusalem and the worship maintained through its Temple, all else in Israel's history becomes of quite secondary importance. He begins therefore where (for Israel) Jerusalem and the Temple began—with David, who conquered the city and planned the Temple. The tales of the Judges, of Samuel, and of David's early life and his magnanimity toward Saul (a tempting source for the exaltation of the character of the ideal king), all these are logically ignored, since they lie outside the scope of the Chronicler's design.

Ch. X. 1—12 (=1 Sam. xxxi. 1—13). The Defeat, Death, and Burial of Saul.

1—12. There are several variations between the text given here and the text of 1 Sam., to which attention will be called in the notes below.

1. *in mount Gilboa*] In the campaign of Gilboa the Philistines showed new and skilful strategy. Instead of at once marching eastward up the ravines which lead into Judah and Benjamin—in which there was no room for their chariots (2 Sam. i. 6) to manœuvre—they first marched northward along the sea-coast and then turned eastward just before reaching Mount Carmel. This movement brought them into the great fertile plain watered by the Kishon, ground over which chariots

after Saul and after his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and [1]Abinadab, and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul.
3 And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers overtook him; and he was distressed by reason of the archers.
4 Then said Saul unto his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and [2]abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. Therefore Saul took his sword, and fell
5 upon it. And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was
6 dead, he likewise fell upon his sword, and died. So Saul died, and his three sons; and all his house died together.
7 And when all the men of Israel that were in the valley saw that they fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they

[1] In 1 Sam. xiv. 49, *Ishvi*. [2] Or, *make a mock of me*

could act with decisive effect. At the N.E. end of the plain rose the heights of Gilboa. When Saul and his Benjamites advanced to meet the Philistines, the latter succeeded in interposing themselves between the Israelite army and its base in Benjamin—an easy achievement for an enemy who by his chariots possessed a high degree of mobility. Saul was therefore driven to take up his position on the *north* side of the plain on Mount Gilboa, where he was attacked by the Philistines, probably from the S.W., on which side the slopes of the mountain are comparatively gentle. The Israelites, cut off from their homes, outmarched, outgeneralled, and probably outnumbered, were speedily routed. The battle of Gilboa was won, like that of Hastings, by cavalry (chariots) and archers (ver. 3) against infantry, which was obliged to stand on the defensive, under pain of being cut to pieces if it ventured to attack. See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 400 ff.

2. *Malchi-shua*] This is the correct spelling, not *Melchi-shua*.

4. *unto his armourbearer*] Cp. Judg. ix. 54 (the death of Abimelech). One function of an armourbearer was to give the "coup de grâce" to fallen enemies (1 Sam. xiv. 13), but sometimes the same office had to be executed for friends. Possibly the man refused from fear of blood-revenge, which would be the more certainly exacted in the case of the Lord's Anointed, cp. 1 Sam. ii. 22, xxvi. 9 (so Curtis).

and abuse me] i.e. wreak their cruel will upon me; cp. Judg. i. 6.

6. *all his house*] In Samuel "his armourbearer and all his men." The reference may be to Saul's servants: his family was not exterminated in this battle.

7. *that were in the valley*] The "valley of Jezreel" (Hos. i. 5), called in later times the "plain of Esdrelon" (Esdraelon), is meant.

forsook their cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

8 And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his sons
9 fallen in mount Gilboa. And they stripped him, and took his head, and his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry the tidings unto their idols, and to the people. And they put his armour in the house
10 of their gods, and fastened his head in the house of Dagon.
11 And when all Jabesh-gilead heard all that the Philistines
12 had done to Saul, all the valiant men arose, and took away the body of Saul, and the bodies of his sons, and brought

forsook their cities] Among these was no doubt Beth-shan (Beisan) "the key of Western Palestine" (see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 358 f.), where Saul's body was exposed (1 Sam. xxxi. 12).

and dwelt in them] Perhaps for a short while only, cp. 2 Sam. ii. 9, "[Abner] made him (Ish-bosheth) king over...*Jezreel*." Ish-bosheth, however, may have "ruled" only in acknowledgment of a Philistine suzerainty.

9. *to carry the tidings unto their idols*] Better, as in Samuel, "to publish it *in the house* (or *houses*) of their idols"; cp. the next verse. The news was published by the exhibition of trophies of the victory in the Philistine temples.

10. *in the house of their gods*] In Samuel (more definitely) "in the house (*or* houses) of Ashtaroth," Ashtaroth being the plural of *Ashtoreth*, a goddess, who seems here to bear a martial character. (The name *Ashtoreth* is an artificial formation, the proper form being *Ashtarte*. The vowels of the word *bōsheth*, i.e. *shame*, were used for the last two syllables in place of the true vowels; cp. note on viii. 33.) She was apparently consort of the Phoenician Baal (Judg. ii. 13, x. 6).

fastened his head in the house of Dagon (lit. *Beth-Dagon*)] In Sam. *fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan*. The reading of Chron. is probably an arbitrary alteration made by the Chronicler out of regard for 1 Sam. xxxi. 9, where it is related that the Philistines cut off Saul's head. It is just possible that the variation points to a fuller original text containing all three statements—that Saul's armour was placed in the temple of Ashtarte, his head in the "house of Dagon," and his headless corpse fastened to the walls of Beth-shan. Beth-shan is N.E. of Gilboa, about four miles distant from the Jordan, and about a day's march (1 Sam. xxxi. 12) from Jabesh (ver. 11), which was situated on the other side of Jordan in Gilead.

11. *Jabesh-gilead*] See 1 Sam. xi. 1—11; 2 Sam. ii. 4—7.

12. *took away*] i.e. from the walls of Beth-shan (so Pesh.).

them to Jabesh, and buried their bones under the [1]oak in
13 Jabesh, and fasted seven days. So Saul died [2]for his trespass
which he committed against the LORD, because of the word
of the LORD, which he kept not; and also for that he asked
counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire *thereby*,
14 and inquired not of the LORD: therefore he slew him, and
turned the kingdom unto David the son of Jesse.

11 Then all Israel gathered themselves to David unto

[1] Or, *terebinth* [2] Or, *in*

to Jabesh] Samuel adds "and burned them there." The Chronicler omits this statement perhaps because he inferred that the bones were not *destroyed* by this burning; cp. 2 Sam. xxi. 12—14 (the bones of Saul and Jonathan brought from Jabesh in David's reign and re-interred in the family sepulchre) or more probably because burning was not a usual funeral rite among the Jews (cp. 2 Chr. xvi. 14, note), and indeed was regarded with abhorrence (cp. Am. ii. 1).

under the oak] mg., *terebinth*. Large trees, being rare in Palestine, frequently serve as landmarks; cp. Judg. iv. 5; 1 Sam. xxii. 6 ("tamarisk tree" R.V.).

fasted seven days] Fasting involved abstinence from food during daylight. David fasted "till the evening" in mourning for Saul (2 Sam. i. 12) and for Abner (*ib.* iii. 35). The fast of Jabesh was a sevenfold fast.

13, 14 (peculiar to Chron.). THE MORAL OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE HOUSE OF SAUL.

Such reflexions as these are characteristic of the Chronicler; cp. 2 Chr. xii. 2 (note), xxii. 7, xxiv. 24, xxv. 27. They are not so frequent in Sam. and Kings.

13. *his trespass*] cp. 2 Chr. xxvi. 16. The reference is to Saul's sacrifice (1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14), and disobedience (*ib.* xv. 23).

asked counsel...spirit] i.e. of the witch of Endor, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7 ff.

14. *and inquired not of the LORD*] Cp. xiii. 3. The Chronicler presumably does not count inquiries made too late; cp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 (Saul inquires of the Lord, but receives no answer).

CH. XI. **1—3** (=2 Sam. v. 1—3). DAVID MADE KING OVER ALL ISRAEL.

The remaining chapters of the first book of Chronicles are occupied with the reign of David, who is represented as a king fulfilling the Chronicler's highest ideals of piety and prosperity. For some general remarks on the difference between the picture thus given and the David of Sam. see the note on xxviii. 1.

1. *Then*] Render **And**.

all Israel] Chron. has nothing here corresponding to 2 Sam. i.—iv.,

Hebron, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. In 2
times past, even when Saul was king, it was thou that
leddest out and broughtest in Israel: and the LORD thy
God said unto thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and
thou shalt be [1]prince over my people Israel. So all the 3
elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and David
made a covenant with them in Hebron before the LORD;
and they anointed David king over Israel, according to the
word of the LORD by the hand of Samuel. And David and 4

[1] Or, *leader*

chapters which cover a period of seven years (2 Sam. v. 5). David's earlier coronation by the men of Judah (2 Sam. ii. 4), the reign of Ish-bosheth over Northern and Eastern Israel (*ib.* ii. 8 ff.), and the "long war" (*ib.* iii. 1) with the house of Saul are omitted not of course because the Chronicler was ignorant of these events (for see the references in vv. 15, 17; xii. 1, 23, 29, etc.), but for the reason set forth above in the head-note to ch. x.—xxix. The Chronicler's account is perhaps deliberately adapted to convey an impression of the ease with which the ideal David ascends the throne of a united Israel; and, if we had not the narrative in Sam. to help us, we should be left with a conception of the period very different from the actual course of events. How strange, too, would be the sudden transition from the picture of defeat and flight of Israel in ch. x. to the calm assemblage of all Israel in ch. xi., and how obscure the various references to David's earlier life in xi. 15 ff.!

we are thy bone and thy flesh] The phrase is not to be taken strictly as implying kinship, for only the tribe of Judah could say "The king is near of kin to us" (2 Sam. xix. 42). The other tribes mean that they will obey David as though he were their own kin.

2. *the LORD thy God said*] Cp. vv. 3, 10; 1 Sam. xvi. 1—13.

prince] Cp. v. 2, note.

3. *made a covenant*] i.e. gave them a charter in which he promised to respect existing rights; cp. 1 Sam. x. 25 (Sam. writes the "manner" of the kingdom).

before the LORD] One method of entering into a covenant "before the LORD" was to pass between the parts of a sacrificed animal; cp. Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19.

Chron. has nothing here corresponding with 2 Sam. v. 4, 5; but cp. xxix. 27.

according...Samuel] Cp. 1 Sam. xv. 28, xvi. 1, 3.

4—9 (=2 Sam. v. 6—10). THE "CITY OF DAVID" CAPTURED AND MADE A ROYAL RESIDENCE.

4. *David and all Israel*] In Sam. (more accurately) "The king and *his men*," i.e. his household and body-guard; cp. x. 6, note. The

all Israel went to Jerusalem (the same is Jebus); and the
5 Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land, were there. And the
inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come in
hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion;
6 the same is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever
smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. And
Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief.
7 And David dwelt in the strong hold; therefore they called

exploit recorded in Sam. is invested by the Chronicler with the grandeur of a state campaign.

the same is Jebus] Jerusalem (or Jebus) consisted, it seems (cp. ver. 8; Judg. i. 21), of a citadel inhabited by Jebusites and of a lower city inhabited by a mixed population of Jebusites and Benjamites. It was the citadel only which David stormed. Jerusalem is called Jebus only here and in Judg. xix. 10 f. The notion that Jebus was an ancient name for the city *may* be only a late fancy, but it is possible that it was sometimes so called in the days of the Jebusite rule. What is certain is that the name Jerusalem is ancient, for it occurs frequently (as Urusalim) in the Amarna tablets, *c.* 1400 B.C. See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*.

the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land] i.e. masters of that territory before the Israelite invasion. The Jebusites have been thought to be of Hittite origin, but they were probably Semites, like the Israelites (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 16—18).

5. *Thou shalt not come in hither*] Undoubtedly the Chronicler understood the resistance offered by the Jebusites to be of a military character, and the text of Sam. *as translated* in A.V. and R.V. follows the same notion. See, however, the reinterpretation of the Sam. text by Barnes in the *Expositor*, Jan. 1914, where it is urged that the word (*m*ᵉ*tsudah*) rendered "*strong hold*" means not a well-fortified citadel but simply a natural hiding place, such as a thicket or a cavern (which in this case probably was used as a shrine by the Jebusites).

the strong hold of Zion] See the previous note. The site of this "hold" or cavern (afterwards "the city of David") is on the S.E. of the present city, on the S. of the Haram (the Temple area), and on a level lower than that of the Haram (see Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 39 ff.).

6. *Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites*] The reference here is no doubt to military violence. See, however, the article by Barnes cited above. The text in Sam. is very difficult and corrupt, and has been simplified by the Chronicler.

Joab the son of Zeruiah] Zeruiah was David's sister (ii. 16). It is not said in Sam. that Joab first became commander-in-chief on this occasion; on the contrary he appears in command (2 Sam. ii. 13) during the civil war against the house of Saul. Perhaps he was first formally acknowledged as commander at the seizure of Jerusalem.

it the city of David. And he built the city round about, 8
from Millo even round about: and Joab [1]repaired the rest
of the city. And David waxed greater and greater; for the 9
LORD of hosts was with him.

[1] Heb. *revived.*

8. *from Millo even round about*] Lit. "the Millo," meaning perhaps "The filling up," was some part of the defences of the "city of David," either a *solid* tower or perhaps an armoury, or a piece of supplementary work intended to strengthen an existing wall (LXX. 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, *ἀνάλημμα*, "support"). See Smith, *op. cit.* II. 40 f.

Joab] This tradition about Joab is not mentioned in Sam.

repaired the rest of the city] lit. *revived*, cp. Neh. iv. 2 (=Heb. iii. 34). Pesh. translates: "Joab gave his right hand to the rest of the men who were in the city"; and it has been proposed to render the clause *spared* or *kept alive the rest of the city* (i.e. the remaining people, the Benjamites who dwelt there with the Jebusites [Judg. i. 21]). The rendering *repaired* is to be preferred.

10—41 a (cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 8—39). DAVID'S MIGHTY MEN AND THEIR DEEDS.

This section seems to consist of elements drawn from different sources and brought together (probably by the author of Sam.) in order to give as complete a list as possible of the heroes who at different times in David's career did good service to Israel.

The names of twelve of these heroes reappear in chap. xxvii. as the commanders of David's twelve "courses."

Vv. **11—14** (=2 Sam. xxiii. 8—12) deal with two (in Sam. three) heroes otherwise unknown.

Vv. **15—19** (=*ibid.* 13—17) are independent of the foregoing and narrate an exploit of three unnamed heroes.

Vv. **20—25** (=*ibid.* 18—23) seem in turn to be independent of **15—19**, and vv. 21, 25 in particular seem to be quoted from some lost poem. These verses contain the eulogy of Abishai and Benaiah.

Vv. **26—41 a** (=*ibid.* 24—39) contain thirty names of heroes whose exploits are not recorded. It is to be noted that Chron., vv. **41 b—47**, adds some sixteen names at the end which are not given in Sam.

Joab is not included in the formal list because he has been already mentioned (ver. 6).

Lists of names are favourite features in oriental Histories. Thus Ibn Hishām in his *Life* of Mohammed gives a list of the 83 Moslems who took refuge in Abyssinia from the persecution of the Koreish, of the 75 inhabitants of Medina who swore allegiance to the Prophet before the Hegira, and even of the 314 Moslems who were present at the battle of Bedr.

10 Now these are the chief of the mighty men whom David had, who [1]shewed themselves strong with him in his kingdom, together with all Israel, to make him king, according to the
11 word of the LORD concerning Israel. And this is the number of the mighty men whom David had: Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, the chief of the [2]thirty; he lifted up his spear
12 against three hundred [3]and slew them at one time. And

[1] Or, *held strongly with him* [2] Another reading is, *captains*.
[3] Heb. *slain*.

10. *Now these*] This verse is the Chronicler's own heading which he prefixes to the list of heroes taken from Sam., while retaining (in ver. 11) the original heading given in Sam.

who shewed themselves strong with him] Render as mg., **who held strongly with him.** Cp. xii. 23.

to make him king] as though all the mighty men participated in the coronation at Hebron, whereas in reality many must have won their place and fame only in the later campaigns of David.

11. *this is the number*] More suitably in Sam., "These be the names."

Jashobeam] Called "Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel" in xxvii. 2. The name "Jashobeam" is however uncertain. In 2 Sam. (xxiii. 8, R.V.) it appears as "Josheb-basshebeth," which is certainly wrong. LXX. (B) varies in reproducing the name, but it seems to have read "Ish-bosheth" in Sam., and "Ish-baal" (Esh-baal) in both places of Chron. These readings are probably right. For the relation of the forms "Ish-bosheth," "Esh-baal" see viii. 33, note.

son of a Hachmonite] Cp. xxvii. 32. In Sam. (wrongly) "a Tahchemonite."

chief of the thirty] So the Heb. mg. (*Kethīb*), but the Heb. text (*Kerī*) reads *chief of the captains*, which the A.V. follows. Neither A.V. nor R.V. gives satisfactory sense. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 8 the LXX. gives, *chief of the third part* [*of the army*], cp. *ib.* xviii. 2; and this is perhaps right; the Heb. text of Sam. (if not faulty) probably bears the same sense. Ish-baal (Jashobeam) then is one of three "mightiest of the mighty" men, the other two being Eleazar (ver. 12) and Shammah (=2 Sam. xxiii. 11; omitted in Chron.—see note on vv. 12, 13).

he lifted up his spear] Lit. "he aroused his spear," a poetic expression.

against three hundred] Sam. "against eight hundred"; so Pesh. (good MSS.) of Chron. Some light is thrown on this exploit by 1 Sam. xviii. 25—27; the two hundred Philistines slain by David and his men were carefully counted and reckoned to the credit of David personally.

12, 13. These verses answer in part to vv. 9 and 11 of Sam., but since ver. 10 and parts of vv. 9, 11 of Sam. have no equivalent in

after him was Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite, who
was one of the three mighty men. He was with David 13
at [1]Pas-dammim, and there the Philistines were gathered
together to battle, where was a plot of ground full of barley;
and the people fled from before the Philistines. And they 14
stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew
the Philistines; and the LORD saved them by a great
[2]victory. And three of the thirty chief went down to the 15
rock to David, into the cave of Adullam; and the host of
the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim.
And David was then in the hold, and the garrison of the 16
Philistines was then in Beth-lehem. And David longed, 17
and said, Oh that one would give me water to drink of the

[1] In 1 Sam. xvii. 1, *Ephes-dammim*. [2] Heb. *salvation*.

Chron., two incidents are confounded, and the name of a hero (Shammah) is omitted, his exploit being ascribed to Eleazar.

12. *Eleazar the son of Dodo*] Probably to be identified with "Dodai the Ahohite," the commander of the second "course"; xxvii. 4.

the three mighty men] i.e. the three who were with David on the occasion mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii. 9.

13. *at Pas-dammim*] Perhaps the same place as "Ephes-dammim" which is mentioned in 1 Sam. xvii. 1 as the gathering-place of the Philistines. It was in the S.W. of Judah.

barley] Sam. "lentils." The two words resemble each other in Heb. and might be confused by an unwary scribe.

14. *they stood*] The subject of the verb in 2 Sam. xxiii. 12 is Shammah, here David and Eleazar together.

15. *to the rock*] Sam. "in the harvest-time." Probably both readings are wrong, and the original form of the verse was perhaps *And three of the thirty went down at the beginning of harvest to David*, etc. (see Driver, *Notes on Heb. text of Samuel*[2], p. 366).

the cave of Adullam] So also in 1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. In ver. 16 below, and in 1 Sam. xxii. 4 it is called the "hold." Probably "the 'hold' was a tangle of hill and forest, in the centre of which the 'cave of Adullam' served as David's headquarters" (Barnes, *Expositor*, Jan. 1914): the whole forming an admirable retreat for men acquainted with its intricacies. An identification with a commanding hill in the Shephelah, called "*Aid-el-ma*," has been suggested (see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 229, 230, note).

the valley of Rephaim] Probably the broad depression traversed by the road from Jerusalem to Beth-lehem. See Josh. xv. 8 ("vale of Rephaim" R.V.; "valley of the giants" A.V.).

16. *in the hold*] Cp. note on *the cave of Adullam* (ver. 15).

18 well of Beth-lehem, which is by the gate! And the three brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but David would not
19 drink thereof, but poured it out unto the LORD, and said, My God forbid it me, that I should do this: shall I drink the blood of these men [1]that have put their lives in jeopardy? for with *the jeopardy of* their lives they brought it. Therefore he would not drink it. These things did the three
20 mighty men. And [2]Abishai, the brother of Joab, he was chief of the three: for he lifted up his spear against three hundred [3]and slew them, and had a name among the three.
21 [4]Of the three, he was more honourable than the two, and was made their captain: howbeit he attained not to the
22 *first* three. Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, the son of a

[1] Heb. *with their lives.* [2] Heb. *Abshai.* [3] Heb. *slain.*
[4] Or, *Of the three in the second rank he was the most honourable*

18. *brake through the host*] or *camp*. The word "host" in the Hebrew regularly means a host encamped, not a host embattled. Perhaps this exploit took place by night; compare the deed of David and Abishai (1 Sam. xxvi. 6—12).

poured it out] i.e. as a libation-offering.

20. *chief of the three*] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 18 (*Kĕthīb*) Abishai is called by the same title (Heb. *rōsh hasshālīshī*) as Josheb-basshebeth (*ib.* ver. 8). This title probably means *chief of the third part* [*of the army*]; cp. ver. 11, note. *Chief of the three* is a faulty reading: it certainly ought not to be taken in connection with the three mighty men—Jashobeam (Ishbaal), Eleazar and <Shammah>—referred to in vv. 10 ff. Probably a reading "chief of the thirty," for which there is some MS. authority, is correct; but the references here and in the following verse are obscure (see Driver, *Samuel*[2], pp. 367, 368).

had a name among the three] Cp. ver. 24, where the same thing is said of Benaiah. The three meant are either the three of vv. 15—19 or else an unknown three; cp. next note.

21. *Of the three, he was more honourable than the two*] mg. "*Of the three in the second rank he was the most honourable.*" Neither of these renderings is satisfactory, and the text is certainly corrupt (cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 19), and should be corrected. Read perhaps: **He was more honourable than the three**, or perhaps, **than the thirty.** The verse probably comes from a lost poem. What is meant by the *three* and by *the first three* cannot be determined owing to the loss of the context.

22. *Benaiah*] See 2 Sam. viii. 18; 1 Kin. i. 8 ff., ii. 25—35.

valiant man of Kabzeel, who had done mighty deeds, he slew the two *sons of* Ariel of Moab: he went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow. And he 23
slew an Egyptian, a man of great stature, five cubits high; and in the Egyptian's hand was a spear like a weaver's beam; and he went down to him with a staff, and plucked the spear out of the Egyptian's hand, and slew him with his own spear. These things did Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, 24
and had a name among the three mighty men. Behold, he 25
was more honourable than the thirty, but he attained not to the *first* three: and David set him over his [1]guard.

Also the mighty men of the armies; Asahel the brother 26

[1] Or, *council*

Kabzeel] It was in the south of Judah; Josh. xv. 21.

he slew the two sons of *Ariel of Moab*] So LXX. of 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. The phrase is very difficult. Some, emending the text, read "He slew two young lions, having gone down to their lair." Another but an improbable conjecture is "he smote the two altar-pillars of Moab," i.e. he overthrew the two high columns on which the sacred fire of the Moabites was kept (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, Additional Note L). To injure or defile the sacred place of an enemy was a common practice in ancient war.

in time of snow] "The beast had strayed up the Judaean hills from Jordan, and had been caught in a sudden snowstorm. Where else than in Palestine could lions and snow thus come together?" G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 65.

23. *of great stature*] Sam. has a better reading, "a goodly man" (man of presence), "goodliness" according to the Hebrews consisting in being well-built for warlike exercises.

a staff] Heb. *shēbhet*, i.e. the "rod" or "club" carried by shepherds as a defence against wild-beasts; Ps. ii. 9 ("rod"); xxiii. 4 ("rod"); 2 Sam. xviii. 14 ("darts"). This "rod" had a point at one end, so that it could on occasion be used as a stabbing weapon.

25. *more honourable than the thirty*] On the phrase, see ver. 21, note. The verse probably comes from some poem written in praise of Benaiah. Cp. xxvii. 6.

guard] The same Heb. word, *mishma'ath*, is translated "council" in the mg. here and also in 1 Sam. xxii. 14. The literal meaning is "obedience"; it seems both here and in Sam. (*l.c.*) to designate those who executed the king's commands, i.e. his ministers. (*Minister* = "servant.")

26. *Asahel*] Whose death at the hands of Abner, the general of Ishbosheth, was the cause of the famous feud between Abner and Joab, cp. 2 Sam. ii. 18 ff., iii. 27.

27 of Joab, Elhanan the son of Dodo of Beth-lehem; [1]Sham-
28 moth the Harorite, Helez the [2]Pelonite; Ira the son of
29 Ikkesh the Tekoite, Abiezer the Anathothite; [3]Sibbecai the
30 Hushathite, [4]Ilai the Ahohite; Maharai the Netophathite,
31 [5]Heled the son of Baanah the Netophathite; Ithai the son
of Ribai of Gibeah of the children of Benjamin, Benaiah

[1] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 25, *Shamah the Harodite.* [2] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 26, *Paltite.* [3] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 27, *Mebunnai.* [4] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 28, *Zalmon.* [5] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 29, *Heleb.*

Elhanan] Called here (=2 Sam. xxiii. 24) "son of Dodo," but perhaps to be identified with "Elhanan the son of Jair" of xx. 5 (=2 Sam. xxi. 19, where *Jaare-oregim* is an error for *Jair* [see Driver, *Samuel*[2], *ad loc.*]).

27. *the Harorite*] Read, **the Harodite** (so Sam.). Cp. Judg. vi. 23, vii. 1, whence it appears that Harod was in (or near) the valley of Jezreel. Cp. also 1 Chr. xxvii. 8 ("Shamhuth the Izrahite"), where the same person seems to be meant. "Elika the Harodite" (Sam.) is not found in Chron.

Helez the Pelonite] Cp. xxvii. 10, where he is described as a captain of the children of Ephraim. In 2 Sam. xxiii. 26 however it is Helez *the Paltite*, i.e. (apparently) "the inhabitant of Beth-pelet" in the south of Judah (Josh. xv. 27).

28. *Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite*] Cp. xxvii. 9. For *Tekoa* see **2 Chr. xx. 20, note.**

Abiezer the Anathothite] xxvii. 12 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 27. Anathoth was in Benjamin; it was Jeremiah's village (Jer. i. 1, xi. 21 ff.), now *Anâta*, 2½ miles N.N.E. of Jerusalem.

29. *Sibbecai*] So xxvii. 11, but in 2 Sam. xxiii. 27 "Mebunnai."

the Hushathite] *Hushah* is probably the name of some place near Beth-lehem (iv. 4). *Shuah* (*ib.* ver. 11) may be another form of the name.

Ilai] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 28 "Zalmon." The two words are perhaps only various readings of the name which originally appeared in the list.

the Ahohite] He was of a Benjamite family; viii. 4 ("Ahoah").

30. *Maharai the Netophathite*] So in xxvii. 13, with "of the Zerahites" (R.V.) added. A *Netophathite* might come either from Netophah (a village in Judah not far from Beth-lehem), or from the "villages of the Netophathites" (ix. 16, note).

Heled] In xxvii. 15 "Heldai," a name found in Zech. iv. 10. "Heleb" in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 is probably a wrong reading.

31. *Ithai*] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 "Ittai," the same name as in 2 Sam. xv. 19, xviii. 2, but a different person is meant.

Benaiah the Pirathonite] So in xxvii. 14; 2 Sam. xxiii. 30. Pirathon was a town in Ephraim; Judg. xii. 15. Probably the place is mentioned also in 1 Macc. ix. 50 (*τὴν Θαμνάθα Φαραθών*).

the Pirathonite; [1]Hurai of the brooks of Gaash, [2]Abiel the 32
Arbathite; Azmaveth the Baharumite, Eliahba the Shaal- 33
bonite; the sons of [3]Hashem the Gizonite, Jonathan the son 34
of Shage the Hararite; Ahiam the son of [4]Sacar the Hararite, 35
[5]Eliphal the son of Ur; Hepher the Mecherathite, Ahijah 36
the Pelonite; Hezro the Carmelite, [6]Naarai the son of 37

[1] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 30, *Hiddai.* [2] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 31, *Abi-albon.*
[3] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 32, *Jashen.* [4] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 33, *Sharar.*
[5] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 34, *Eliphelet the son of Ahasbai.* [6] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 35, *Paarai the Arbite.*

32. *Hurai*] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 30, "Hiddai." The true form of the name is uncertain; neither form occurs elsewhere.

Gaash] A mountain in Ephraim; Judg. ii. 9 (=Josh. xxiv. 30).

Abiel] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 31 "Abi-albon." "Arbathite" means "inhabitant of Beth Arabah"; a town on the border between Judah and Benjamin, Josh. xv. 6.

33. *Baharumite*] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 31 "Barhumite." We should read in both places, **Bahurimite**, i.e. "inhabitant of Bahurim," a town of Benjamin (2 Sam. iii. 16).

Shaalbonite] i.e. "inhabitant of Shaalbim" (Judg. i. 35), or "Shaal-abbin" (Josh. xix. 42), a town in Dan.

34. *the sons of Hashem the Gizonite*] The corresponding clause in 2 Sam. xxiii. 32 is simply "the sons of Jashen." The text is corrupt in both places. LXX. (Chron.) for *the sons of* has the proper name "Benaiah." Read perhaps "Jashen the Gunite" (cp. Num. xxvi. 48) omitting *the sons of* (Heb. *bĕnē*) as arising from a mistaken repetition of the last three letters of Shaalbonite (Heb. form).

Jonathan the son of Shage] Cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 32, 33, where the right reading seems to be "Jonathan the son of Shammah." Nothing is known of the meaning of "Hararite," nor is the reading certain.

35. *Sacar*] In 2 Sam. "Sharar."

35, 36. *Eliphal the son of Ur; Hepher the Mecherathite*] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 34 "Eliphelet the son of Ahasbai, the son of the Maacathite." Chron. has two heroes against one in 2 Sam.

36. *Ahijah the Pelonite*] A mutilated reading of 2 Sam. xxiii. 34, "Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite." For "Ahithophel" see xxvii. 33, note. "Gilonite" means "inhabitant of Giloh," a town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. xv. 51).

37. *Hezro*] So 2 Sam. xxiii. 35 (R.V. following the *Kĕthīb*); but Hezrai (A.V. following the *Kerī*).

the Carmelite] i.e. inhabitant of Carmel, a town in the hill country of Judah (1 Sam. xxv. 2 ff.).

Naarai] In 2 Sam. xxiii. 35 "Paarai." The true form is lost.

the son of Ezbai] In 2 Sam. "the Arbite" (simply), i.e. (probably) "inhabitant of Arab" (Josh. xv. 52), a town in the hill country of Judah.

38 Ezbai; Joel the brother of Nathan, Mibhar the son of
39 Hagri; Zelek the Ammonite, Naharai the Berothite, the
40 armourbearer of Joab the son of Zeruiah; Ira the Ithrite,
41 Gareb the Ithrite; Uriah the Hittite, Zabad the son of
42 Ahlai; Adina the son of Shiza the Reubenite, a chief of the
43 Reubenites, and thirty with him; Hanan the son of Maacah,
44 and Joshaphat the Mithnite; Uzzia the Ashterathite, Shama
45 and Jeiel the sons of Hotham the Aroerite; Jediael the son
46 of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite; Eliel the Ma-
havite, and Jeribai, and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaam, and

38. *Joel the brother of Nathan, Mibhar*] *Mibhar* is a corruption of a word ("of Zobah") belonging to the first clause of the verse; cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 39, "Igal the son of Nathan of Zobah." For "Zobah" cp. xviii. 3. *the son of Hagri*] In 2 Sam. "Bani the Gadite."

39. *the Berothite*] Spelt generally "Beerothite." Beeroth was a Benjamite town; 2 Sam. iv. 2.

40. *the Ithrite*] i.e. "member of the family (or 'clan') of Jether." Cp. ii. 17, note.

41. *Uriah the Hittite*] Cp. 2 Sam. xi. 3. The list in 2 Sam. xxiii. closes with this name and with the note "thirty and seven in all." In Chron. the list is extended to include sixteen additional names, which are all otherwise unknown.

41 b—47 (no parallel in 2 Sam.). CONTINUATION OF THE LIST OF DAVID'S MIGHTY MEN.

42. *and thirty with him*] This clause may be a marginal note taken into the text at the wrong place. It was apparently meant to stand after the name of Uriah the Hittite (ver. 41) by some scribe who followed our present text and referred "the sons of Hashem" (ver. 34) to Azmaveth and Eliahba (ver. 33), thus reckoning just thirty names from Asahel to Uriah. The clause should be read *either* "and up to him are thirty" *or* "and all of them are thirty" (cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 39). Another possibility is that the proper place of these verses, 42—47, is in ch. xii., after ver. 7: they describe on that view the *Reubenite* gathering to David, and the names in vv. 43—47 are then to be regarded as a portion of the list of the *thirty* with Adina (ver. 42). On the characteristics of these additional names and of those in xii. 1—22, see G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 230.

44. *the Ashterathite*] i.e. inhabitant of Ashtaroth (vi. 71 [56, Heb.]), a city of Manasseh east of Jordan.

the Aroerite] i.e. inhabitant of Aroer. There were two cities of this name, both east of Jordan; cp. Josh. xiii. 16, 25.

46. *the Mahavite*] Read perhaps, "the Mahanite," i.e. inhabitant of Mahanaim, a town east of Jordan; cp. 2 Sam. xvii. 27; or "the Meonite," i.e. of Beth Meon, a Reubenite city, Josh. xiii. 17.

Ithmah the Moabite; Eliel, and Obed, and Jaasiel the 47
Mezobaite.

Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag, [1]while 12
he yet kept himself close because of Saul the son of Kish:
and they were among the mighty men, his helpers in war.
They [2]were armed with bows, and could use both the right 2
hand and the left in slinging stones and in shooting arrows

[1] Heb. being *yet shut up.* [2] Or, *drew the bow*

47. *the Mezobaite*] Read perhaps, "of Zobah"; cp. ver. 38, note.

CH. XII. **1—22** (not in Samuel). DAVID'S ADHERENTS IN EXILE.

This section describes the gathering to David of helpers from Benjamin (vv. 1—7), Gad (8—15), Benjamin and Judah (16—18), and Manasseh (19—22)—before the death of Saul. It is entirely natural to suppose that the men who followed David in the days of Saul's enmity were rewarded when he became king, and their descendants might well be prominent families in the land. Whether any such survived the exilic period and continued in later Jerusalem we cannot say for certain, but it is probable that some names in this list are correct, though it is doubtful whether the Chronicler is drawing on contemporary family tradition or on written sources. The style, however, shows that the composition of the chapter is the Chronicler's, and the impression made by the whole should be contrasted with the picture of this period of David's life given in 1 Sam. xxii. 1 ff. In Sam. David is leader of a small band of his own immediate friends, augmented by adventurers and desperate men, and numbering in all some six hundred. In Chron. one gathers that his followers were the choice spirits of Israel and Judah, who rallied to his support until he had "a great host like the host of God." Beyond question the picture in Sam. is true to fact, that in Chron. being part of the idealisation of David as the perfect king, which the Chronicler (doubtless in full accord with the temper of his age) consistently presents. Its worth lies not in its historical accuracy, but in the religious enthusiasm which has produced it.

1—7. BENJAMITE ADHERENTS OF DAVID.

1. *to Ziklag*] David at Ziklag was a client of Achish, king of Gath (1 Sam. xxvii. 5, 6), so that Benjamites joining him put themselves under their hereditary enemies the Philistines.

while he yet kept himself close] Render, **while he was yet shut up.** David was shut in, as in a prison, and unable to move freely through the land of Israel.

2. *both the right hand and the left*] In Judg. xx. the Benjamites are said to have had seven hundred men *lefthanded* who could sling stones at a hair and not miss (*ib.* ver. 16). Cp. Judg. iii. 15.

from the bow; they were of Saul's brethren of Benjamin.
3 The chief was Ahiezer, then Joash, the sons of Shemaah the
Gibeathite; and Jeziel, and Pelet, the sons of Azmaveth;
4 and Beracah, and Jehu the Anathothite; and Ishmaiah the
Gibeonite, a mighty man among the thirty, and over the
thirty; and Jeremiah, and Jahaziel, and Johanan, and
5 Jozabad the Gederathite; Eluzai, and Jerimoth, and Bealiah,
6 and Shemariah, and Shephatiah the Haruphite; Elkanah,
and Isshiah, and Azarel, and Joezer, and Jashobeam, the
7 Korahites; and Joelah, and Zebadiah, the sons of Jeroham
8 of Gedor. And of the Gadites there separated themselves
unto David to the hold in the wilderness, mighty men of

they were of Saul's brethren of Benjamin] *Brother* is used in Heb. and Arabic for *fellow-tribesman*; cp. 2 Sam. xix. 12. The loyalty of Benjamin to Saul even after his death is attested by 2 Sam. ii. 15, 25, 31. But the importance of Benjamites in the post-exilic period would encourage such a tradition as is here recorded.

3. *The chief was A., then J.*] Read (cp. LXX.) **A. the chief, J. the son** (sing.) **of Shemaah.**

Jehu the Anathothite] i.e. man of Anathoth. See xi. 28, note.

4. *among the thirty, and over the thirty*] Ishmaiah's name does not occur among *the thirty* (2 Sam. xxiii. 24—39); the phrase is therefore perhaps only a kind of superlative; Ishmaiah was worthy to be ranked with *the thirty* or even above them. Probably however the list in ch. xi. and that in ch. xii. belong to different times.

the Gederathite] i.e. the man of Gederah. The only Gederah known was in the Judean Shephelah (Josh. xv. 36), so that it would seem that some men of Judah are reckoned along with the Benjamites in these verses. Similarly in ver. 7 men of the Judean town of *Gedor* (iv. 4; Josh. xv. 58) are mentioned. Perhaps therefore some words introducing the names of Judean heroes have dropped out. But an identification with a Benjamite village *Jedireh*, N. of Jerusalem, is also possible.

6. *the Korahites*] Probably not the Levitic but the Calebite *sons of Korah* (ii. 43), who belonged to Judah, are meant.

8—15. Gadite Adherents of David.

8. *And of the Gadites*] The Gadites had the name of marauders (Gen. xlix. 19), and David's mode of life would attract them. Chronologically ver. 8 should precede ver. 1; David was first "in the hold" and afterwards in Ziklag. On the reference to Gad and Manasseh (ver. 19) see 2 Chr. xv. 9.

separated themselves] i.e. left their brethren E. of Jordan and came W.

to the hold in the wilderness] It is uncertain whether this *hold* be or be not the *cave of Adullam*. On the latter see xi. 15, note.

valour, men trained for war, that could handle shield and spear; whose faces were like the faces of lions, and they were as swift as the roes upon the mountains; Ezer the 9
chief, Obadiah the second, Eliab the third; Mishmannah 10
the fourth, Jeremiah the fifth; Attai the sixth, Eliel the 11
seventh; Johanan the eighth, Elzabad the ninth; Jeremiah 12 13
the tenth, Machbannai the eleventh. These of the sons of 14
Gad were captains of the host: he that was least was [1]equal to an hundred, and the greatest [1]to a thousand. These are 15
they that went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflown all its banks; and they put to flight all them of the valleys, both toward the east, and toward the west. And there came of the children of Benjamin and Judah to 16
the hold unto David. And David went out to meet them, 17

[1] Or, *over*

shield and spear] The reference is to the manner of fighting in David's day. At the threat of an attack an army was drawn up in close array, shield touching shield and spears carried at the charge. Only in a high state of discipline could men quickly and effectively handle shield and spear thus (1 Sam. xvii. 2, 8, 21). (The A.V., "*shield and buckler*," follows a mistake of several early editions of the printed Heb. text.)

as the roes] In David's lament (2 Sam. i.) Jonathan is compared to a lion (ver. 23) and to a *gazelle* (ver. 19 marg., the same Heb. word as for *roe* here).

10. *Jeremiah the fifth*] Cp. ver. 13, *Jeremiah the tenth*. A very slight difference of spelling distinguishes the two words in the Heb.

14. *he that was least...thousand*] Cp. Lev. xxvi. 8; Is. xxx. 17.

15. *in the first month*] In Nisan (the month of harvest) when the snow was melting and filling all streams; cp. Josh. iii. 15.

all them of the valleys] i.e. all inhabitants of the valleys who in the interest of Saul sought to bar their march westward to join David.

16—18. Amasai and his Companions.

16—18. These interesting and beautiful passages are so different in style and sentiment from what precedes and what follows that they would seem to be drawn from another source. It is quite possible that they were inserted thus between Gad and Manasseh by the Chronicler himself; but that they are a later addition is probable from the fact that the adherents who came from Benjamin and perhaps Judah (vv. 5—7, see note on Gederathite) are given above, vv. 1—7.

16. *to the hold*] See ver. 8, notes.

17. *David went out to meet them*] Instead of letting himself be

and answered and said unto them, If ye be come peaceably unto me to help me, mine heart shall be knit unto you: but if *ye be come* to betray me to mine adversaries, seeing there is no [1]wrong in mine hands, the God of our fathers look
18 thereon, and rebuke it. Then the spirit [2]came upon Amasai, who was chief of the [3]thirty, *and he said*, Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse: peace, peace be unto thee, and peace be to thine helpers; for thy God helpeth thee. Then David received them, and made them captains
19 of the band. Of Manasseh also there fell away some to David, when he came with the Philistines against Saul to

[1] Or, *violence* [2] Heb. *clothed*. [3] Another reading is, *captains*.

surprised he took up a favourable position in advance from which he could hold parley with them. The south of Judah with its ravines and cliffs affords many such positions.

the God of our fathers, etc.] Cp. the equally fine assertion of integrity of conduct and of faith in God made by David in 1 Sam. xxiv. 11 ff. If it be felt that in the later idealisation, which must be recognised, we lose our knowledge of the *real* David, it should be remembered that this very idealisation is in itself proof of the greatness of David in mind and soul. The strong but simple faith and the magnanimous bearing of David, which such a passage as the present portrays, are no doubt true to fact, for they provide precisely that historical basis without which the reverent and loving idealisation of later generations had never come into existence.

18. *the spirit came upon A.*] Lit. **a spirit** (i.e. from God) **clothed itself with** (i.e. entered into) **Amasai**. Cp. 2 Chr. xxiv. 20; Judg. vi. 34.

Amasai] Probably to be identified with "Amasa" (2 Sam. xvii. 25, xix. 13).

chief of the thirty] Thus the *Kethīb*; the A.V., following the *Ḳerī*, has "*chief of the captains*": so also xi. 11, where see note.

Thine are we, David, and on thy side] Lit. "For thee, David, and with thee." This response "*Thine are we...helpeth thee*" is a fine fragment of Hebrew poetry, having an early simplicity of style, which it is peculiarly interesting to find in so late a book as Chronicles. It is assuredly not the composition of the Chronicler, but must be derived from some independent source, and is perhaps a really old traditional saying about David. See the Introd. § 5, p. xxxv.

for thy God helpeth thee] David's frequent escapes from Saul were felt to be due to Divine protection.

19—22. Manassite Adherents.

19. *when he came with the Philistines*] See 1 Sam. xxviii. 1, 2, xxix. 1—11.

battle, but they helped them not: for the lords of the Philistines upon advisement sent him away, saying, He will fall away to his master Saul to the jeopardy of our heads. As he went to Ziklag, there fell to him of Manasseh, Adnah, 20 and Jozabad, and Jediael, and Michael, and Jozabad, and Elihu, and Zillethai, captains of thousands that were of Manasseh. And they helped David against the band of 21 rovers: for they were all mighty men of valour, and were captains in the host. For from day to day there came to 22 David to help him, until it was a great host, like the host of God.

And these are the numbers of the heads of them that 23 were armed for war, which came to David to Hebron, to turn the kingdom of Saul to him, according to the word of

but they helped them not] David's men did not help the Philistines.

upon advisement] "After consideration"; lit. "by counsel." Cp. xxi. 12, "advise thyself."

to the jeopardy of our heads] Rather, **at the price of our heads.** David became son-in-law to Saul at the price of the lives of two hundred of the Philistines (1 Sam. xviii. 27); their lords here (in Chron.) express their dread lest David reconcile himself to Saul by some act of treachery and slaughter done against his present Philistine patrons; cp. 1 Sam. xxix. 4 ("with" = "at the price of").

20. *As he went*] i.e. As he returned (1 Sam. xxx. 1).

Jozabad] This name occurs twice; possibly in the original list different patronymics were attached to the two mentions of the name.

captains of thousands] Cp. xv. 25; Mic. v. 2. Tribes were divided into "thousands" which were subdivided into "hundreds." These divisions were of civil as well as of military significance.

21. *the band of rovers*] The reference is to the Amalekites who burnt Ziklag (1 Sam. xxx. 1 ff.). The Heb. word *gĕdūd*, here translated "band," is translated "troop" in 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15.

and were captains] Render, **and they became captains.**

22. *the host of God*] The phrase comes from Gen. xxxii. 2; cp. Ps. lxviii. 15 (R.V.) "a mountain of God." The epithet "of God" is used to distinguish a thing as "very great."

23—40 (cp. 2 Sam. v. 1). THE FORCES WHICH CAME TO HEBRON TO MAKE DAVID KING.

23. *And these are*, etc.] It may confidently be said that the list as it stands is the composition of the Chronicler himself, for the syntax and vocabulary of the passage are his, and there is no evidence to

24 the LORD. The children of Judah that bare shield and
spear were six thousand and eight hundred, armed for war.
25 Of the children of Simeon, mighty men of valour for the
26 war, seven thousand and one hundred. Of the children of
27 Levi four thousand and six hundred. And Jehoiada was
the leader of *the house of* Aaron, and with him were three
28 thousand and seven hundred; and Zadok, a young man
mighty of valour, and of his father's house twenty and two
29 captains. And of the children of Benjamin, the brethren
of Saul, three thousand: for hitherto the greatest part of
30 them had [1]kept their allegiance to the house of Saul. And
of the children of Ephraim twenty thousand and eight
hundred, mighty men of valour, famous men in their
31 fathers' houses. And of the half tribe of Manasseh
eighteen thousand, which were expressed by name, to

[1] Heb. *kept the charge of the house.*

suggest that its statements are based on those of some ancient document. Its value in the idealistic account of David which the Chronicler furnishes is obvious, implying as it does not only that the northern as well as the southern tribes concurred whole-heartedly in the election of David, but also that the occasion was one of great military display. On the huge numbers alleged to have come from the North (Zebulun, Naphtali, Dan, and Asher being credited with 155,600 warriors) cp. the following note, and, in general, on midrashic exaggeration of numbers in Chron. see the note on 2 Chr. xvii. 14.

24. *six thousand and eight hundred*] Contrast the numbers assigned to the northern tribes in vv. 33 ff. It may be the idea of the Chronicler that the unanimous support of the southern tribes could be assumed, and that only chosen representatives of these tribes attended. But much more probably the multitudes of Zebulun (ver. 33), etc. are simply due to his desire to magnify the share taken by the north, whilst the problem of the numerical contrast with Judah, etc. did not present itself to him as it does to us.

25. *Simeon*] The most southerly of the tribes (iv. 24—31). The tribes are mentioned in order from south to north.

27. *of* the house of *Aaron*] Jehoiada was not high-priest, but leader of the warriors of the house of Aaron. He may be the same person as the father of Benaiah (xi. 22). Leader (Heb. *nagīd*) is the title given to the "Ruler" of the Temple (ix. 11).

28. *Zadok*] In xxvii. 17 he seems to occupy the position assigned to Jehoiada in ver. 27. Perhaps he succeeded him.

29. *hitherto*] i.e. up to the time referred to in 2 Sam. v. 1.

31. *which were expressed by name*] Suggesting that a census list was

come and make David king. And of the children of 32
Issachar, men that had understanding of the times, to know
what Israel ought to do; the heads of them were two
hundred; and all their brethren were at their command-
ment. Of Zebulun, such as were able to go out in the 33
host, that could set the battle in array, with all manner of
instruments of war, fifty thousand; and that could order
the battle array, and were not of double heart. And of 34
Naphtali a thousand captains, and with them with shield
and spear thirty and seven thousand. And of the Danites 35
that could set the battle in array, twenty and eight thousand
and six hundred. And of Asher, such as were able to go 36
out in the host, that could set the battle in array, forty
thousand. And on the other side of Jordan, of the 37
Reubenites, and the Gadites, and of the half tribe of
Manasseh, with all manner of instruments of war for the
battle, an hundred and twenty thousand. All these, being 38
men of war, that could order the battle array, came with
a perfect heart to Hebron, to make David king over all
Israel: and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to
make David king. And they were there with David three 39
days, eating and drinking: for their brethren had made

kept, recording however not necessarily individuals but simply households. The phrase does not mean picked representatives. Note how the Chronicler skilfully lightens his statistics by some descriptive phrase: so also in vv. 32 ff.

32. *that had understanding of the times*] Cp. Esth. i. 13, "which knew the times." "Times" are "opportunities," "vicissitudes" (cp. xxix. 30), "experiences," good or bad (cp. Ps. xxxi. 15). The phrase means, therefore, "men of experience, having knowledge of the world." Some suppose that the phrase refers to astrological skill (knowledge of auspicious "times and seasons").

33. *such as were able*, etc.] This description is intended to exclude mere lads (such as David appeared to be, 1 Sam. xvii. 33) who might be in attendance on the warriors.

that could order, etc.] i.e. who moved as one man in battle array; cp. ver. 8, note on *shield and spear*. For "of double heart" cp. 2 Chr. xxx. 12, "one heart."

37. *an hundred and twenty thousand*] Evidently a round number, giving 40,000 to each tribe; cp. ver. 36.

38. *with a perfect heart*] i.e. with whole, undivided heart.

39. *eating and drinking*] The feasting probably began with the

40 preparation for them. Moreover they that were nigh unto them, *even* as far as Issachar and Zebulun and Naphtali, brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen, victual of meal, cakes of figs, and clusters of raisins, and wine, and oil, and oxen, and sheep in abundance: for there was joy in Israel.

sacrificial meal by which a covenant was usually ratified; cp. Gen. xxxi. 46, 54.

40. *they that were nigh unto them*] The relatives of the assembled warriors cared for their needs.

as far as Issachar] Even those warriors who came from the northern districts were provisioned by their kinsfolk.

CH. XIII. **1—14** (=2 Sam. vi. 1—11). REMOVAL OF THE ARK FROM KIRIATH-JEARIM TO THE HOUSE OF OBED-EDOM. DEATH OF UZZA.

In harmony with his conviction that the acts of David in promoting or instituting the religious ceremonial of Israel were the supremely important events of his reign, the Chronicler represents the removal of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim as being the first concern of the new monarch and his first action subsequent to the capture of Jerusalem. David's building of a royal residence for himself and his family in Jerusalem, and his victories over the Philistines, which in 2 Sam. *precede* the removal of the Ark, are relegated to the second place in Chron. (see ch. xiv.). The transposition of order is effected by means of the introductory vv. 1—4, which are from the Chronicler's own hand.

It is convenient to draw attention here to a matter of some importance in the narrative of Chron., viz. that the Chronicler believed the Tabernacle (*Mishkān*) of the Lord (Exod. xxxv.—xl.) "which Moses made in the wilderness" (1 Chr. xxi. 29) to be in existence in David's day and to be standing at Gibeon (see xvi. 39, and 2 Chr. i. 3). Yet when the Ark was taken into the city of David it was placed not in the *Mishkān* but "in the tent (*Ohel*) which David pitched for it" (*ib.* ver. 1=2 Sam. vi. 17). Thus in Chron. the two holy things, the Ark and the Tabernacle, are represented as separated, and a separate daily service has to be instituted for each; Asaph and his brethren being said to minister before the Ark in the city of David (1 Chr. xvi. 37), and Zadok and his brethren before the Tabernacle at Gibeon (*ib.* ver. 39). The worship at Gibeon as well as Jerusalem entailed a manifest breach of the Deuteronomic law that at one sanctuary only must worship be offered. It is hard to say what the Chronicler thought of David's strange disregard of a stringent law which (on the Chronicler's theory) was well known to David, and which the Chronicler used as one of the criteria distinguishing the good from the evil kings from Solomon

And David consulted with the captains of thousands and 13
of hundreds, even with every leader. And David said unto 2
all the assembly of Israel, If it seem good unto you, and if
it be of the LORD our God, let us send abroad every where
unto our brethren that are left in all the [1]land of Israel,
[2]with whom the priests and Levites are in their cities that
have [3]suburbs, that they may gather themselves unto us:
and let us bring again the ark of our God to us: for we 3
sought not unto it in the days of Saul. And all the 4
assembly said that they would do so: for the thing was
right in the eyes of all the people. So David assembled 5

[1] Heb. *lands.* [2] Or, *and with them to the priests and Levites which are &c.* [3] Or, *pasture lands*

onwards. Doubtless David's ecclesiastical arrangements were regarded as temporary, pending the building of the Temple, but surely the *Mishkān* could have been removed to Jerusalem almost as easily as the Ark. Why then does the perfect king fail in this duty? The Chronicler ignores the difficulty completely, probably because he was unable to see or conjecture any adequate explanation of David's conduct. It goes without saying that in reality the Deuteronomic law of the one sanctuary was of much later origin than the time of David, and the difficulty is an unreal one.

1. *David consulted with the captains*, etc.] The Chronicler is fond of associating the people with the king in religious measures so as to minimise the appearance of arbitrary power which is suggested by the language of the books of Samuel and of Kings; cp. ver. 4 (*the assembly said that they would do so*), also 2 Chr. xxx. 2, 4. Similarly in xxviii. 2 the king addresses the elders as *My brethren*. Doubtless the Chronicler had in mind Deut. xvii. 20.

2. *let us send abroad every where*] The Heb. phrase is peculiar; *let us spread, let us send*, i.e. let the invitation be sent far and wide throughout the land and not limited to the southern tribes.

the priests and Levites] In Sam. no mention of the Levites is made in the account of the removal of the Ark. The Chronicler retells the story in accordance with the conviction that the complete Levitical ceremonial with which he was familiar was actually in operation in the days of David.

in their cities that have suburbs] or, as mg., ...**that have pasture lands**; i.e. following the provision that cities are to be assigned to the Levites with "suburbs for their cattle and for their substance, and for all their beasts" (Num. xxxv. 2—7; cp. Josh. xiv. 4, xxi. 2).

3. *we sought not unto it*] The meaning is *to seek with care, to care for*. Cp. xv. 13.

all Israel together, from Shihor *the brook* of Egypt even unto the entering in of Hamath, to bring the ark of God from
6 Kiriath-jearim. And David went up, and all Israel, to Baalah, *that is*, to Kiriath-jearim, which belonged to Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, the LORD that [1]sitteth upon the cherubim, [2]which is called by the Name.
7 And they carried the ark of God upon a new cart, *and brought it* out of the house of Abinadab: and Uzza and
8 Ahio drave the cart. And David and all Israel played before God with all their might: even with songs, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with

[1] Or, *dwelleth between* [2] Or, *where the Name is called on*

5. *from Shihor* the brook *of Egypt*] *Shihor* was the name of the brook (now *wady el-Arish*) which divided Palestine from Egypt (Josh. xiii. 3, xv. 4; Jer. ii. 18).

the entering in of Hamath] *Hamath* (now *Hama*) is on the Orontes, see note on xviii. 5. *The entering in of Hamath* is to be identified with the Beḳā'a, a broad valley between Lebanon and Anti-Libanus watered by the Orontes, Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 372. It is mentioned as on the northern frontier of Israel in Josh. xiii. 5; 1 Kin. viii. 65, and elsewhere.

6. *to Baalah*, that is, *to Kiriath-jearim*] A Gibeonite city, probably *Ḳaryet el-'Enab* ("City of Grapes") some 7 miles N.W. of Jerusalem. Cp. Josh. xv. 9; in Josh. xv. 60 *Kiriath-baal.*

sitteth upon the cherubim] Cp. Ezek. i. 26.

which is called by the Name] The God whose is the Ark is here distinguished from the gods of the nations as the God who bears the ineffable Name.

7. *a new cart*] A new cart was chosen as one which had not been profaned by common work. So (Judg. xvi. 11, 12) new ropes "wherewith no work hath been done" were used in the attempt to bind the consecrated man, Samson. So also (Mark xi. 2, 7) our Lord rode into Jerusalem on a colt "whereon no man ever yet sat."

the house of Abinadab] Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2; also 2 Sam. vi. 3. Here the Ark had been since the Philistines restored it to Israelite territory.

8. *played*] The Heb. word means *to sport, to dance* (cp. xv. 29).

with all their might: even with songs] A better reading than that of 2 Sam. vi. 5, *with all manner of* instruments made of *fir wood.*

psalteries] The instrument here meant (Heb. *nēbhel*) "is generally identified at the present day with an instrument called the *santir* still in use among the Arabs. This consists of a long box with a flat bottom covered with a somewhat convex sounding-board over which the strings are stretched." (Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, I. 275.) The "harp"

cymbals, and with trumpets. And when they came unto 9
the threshing-floor of Chidon, Uzza put forth his hand to
hold the ark; for the oxen [1]stumbled. And the anger of the 10
LORD was kindled against Uzza, and he smote him, because
he put forth his hand to the ark: and there he died before
God. And David was displeased, because the LORD had 11
broken forth upon Uzza: and he called that place [2]Perez-
uzza, unto this day. And David was afraid of God that 12
day, saying, How shall I bring the ark of God home to me?
So David removed not the ark unto him into the city of 13
David, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom
the Gittite. And the ark of God remained with the family 14

[1] Or, *were restive* Or, *threw* it *down*
[2] That is, *The breach of Uzza.*

(Heb. *kinnōr*) was a simpler instrument (like the Greek *Kithara*), a *lyre* rather than a true harp.

For a full discussion of *nēbhel* and *kinnōr* see Driver, *Amos*, p. 234, or the articles *Music* in *Ency. Bib.* or Hastings' *D.B.*

9. *the threshing-floor of Chidon*] LXX. (B) omits *of Chidon.* In 2 Sam. vi. 6, *Nacon's threshing-floor.* Nacon is probably a textual blunder.

to hold the ark] The Chronicler from a feeling of reverence shrinks from saying, *and took hold of it* (2 Sam. vi. 6).

stumbled] mg. *threw* it *down*, but the meaning is perhaps rather, *let it go*, i.e. let the cart on which the Ark was slip backwards. The same Heb. word is used 2 Kin. ix. 33; there Jehu in his mocking humour says not, *Throw her down*, but, *Let her go*, an ambiguous command meant to throw as much responsibility as possible upon those who obeyed it.

10. *before God*] In 2 Sam. vi. 7, *by the ark of God.*

11. *was displeased*] Rather, **was wroth**, presumably against his advisers for not warning him that the method adopted for the removal of the Ark was wrong; cp. xv. 13.

had broken forth] Lit., as A.V., *had made a breach upon Uzza.* Cp. Ex. xix. 22.

Perez-uzza] The meaning of the name is given by the mg. *The breach of Uzza.*

13. *Obed-edom the Gittite*] As *Gittite* means man of Gath, Obed-edom was doubtless of Philistine origin; perhaps he attached himself to David during David's sojourn among the Philistines. In xv. 18, 24, xvi. 38, xxvi. 4 an Obed-edom is mentioned as a Levite and a porter (doorkeeper) for the Ark, and elsewhere (xv. 21, xvi. 5) as a singer (see the notes on xv. 18, and xvi. 38).

of Obed-edom in his house three months: and the LORD blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that he had.

14 And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and masons, and carpenters, to build him an 2 house. And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, for his kingdom was exalted on high, for his people Israel's sake.

3 And David took more wives at Jerusalem: and David 4 begat more sons and daughters. And these are the names

14. *with the family of Obed-edom in his house*] Render, **by** (i.e. near) **the house of Obed-edom in its own house.** The Chronicler (regarding Obed-edom as a foreigner if not also an idolater) finds it necessary to alter the expression found in 2 Sam. vi. 11, "in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite." (On the significance of the name—lit. *servant of Edom*—see Driver, *Samuel*², pp. 268, 269.)

blessed] Targ. *blessed with sons and sons' sons.*

CH. XIV. (=2 Sam. v. 11—25). DAVID AT JERUSALEM. TWO PHILISTINE ATTACKS REPULSED.

The Chronicler derives this ch. from Sam. but gives it in a setting of his own. To agree with Sam. it should immediately follow 1 Chr. xi. 9 and should immediately precede 1 Chr. xiii. 1. In Sam. the two attempts to remove the Ark to the city of David, the first unsuccessful, the second successful, are related in immediate succession; the Chronicler interposes between them the double repulse of the Philistines. See the head-note to ch. xiii.

1, 2. HIRAM'S [FIRST] EMBASSY TO DAVID.

The dislocation of the narrative mentioned in the last note has concealed the occasion of Hiram's embassy. The narrative of 2 Sam. v. 9—11 suggests that Hiram heard of the building works which David was carrying on at Jerusalem and so sent materials and workmen to assist. David accepted the welcome offer (which ultimately led to an alliance) as a sign of Divine favour.

1. *Hiram*] Other forms of this name are *Huram* and (1 Kin. v. 10, 18) *Hirom*.

3—7 (=iii. 5—8 and 2 Sam. v. 13—16). DAVID'S FAMILY IN JERUSALEM.

3. *more wives*] In 2 Sam. v. 13 *more concubines and wives.* The Chronicler omits or modifies statements which tend to David's discredit.

4. *these are the names*] The names seem better preserved here than in either of the parallel passages; cp. notes on iii. 5—8.

of the children which he had in Jerusalem; Shammua, and
Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon; and Ibhar, and Elishua, 5
and Elpelet; and Nogah, and Nepheg, and Japhia; and 6, 7
Elishama, and Beeliada, and Eliphelet.

And when the Philistines heard that David was anointed 8
king over all Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek
David: and David heard of it, and went out [1]against them.
Now the Philistines had come and made a raid in the 9
valley of Rephaim. And David inquired of God, saying, 10
Shall I go up against the Philistines? and wilt thou deliver
them into mine hand? And the LORD said unto him, Go
up; for I will deliver them into thine hand. So they came 11
up to Baal-perazim, and David smote them there; and
David said, God hath [2]broken mine enemies by mine hand,
like the breach of waters. Therefore they called the name

[1] Or, *before* [2] Or, *broken forth upon mine enemies*

Shammua...Solomon] All these four are attributed to Bath-shua (=Bath-sheba) in iii. 5.

8—17 (=2 Sam. v. 17—25). THE DOUBLE REPULSE OF THE PHILISTINES.

8. *over all Israel*] in 2 Sam. v. 17, *over Israel*. In both passages the reference is to the later anointing by the whole people (2 Sam. v. 3).

all the Philistines] David, as king of Judah, was of little or no political importance to the Philistines; as king of united Israel, he became a possible menace, and was accordingly attacked without delay.

went up] i.e. from their own low-lying territory by the sea into the hill-country of Judah.

went out against them] mg. **went out before them**, i.e. anticipated them, did not wait for them to attack him. In 2 Sam. v. 17 *went down to the hold*, an expression which might refer to some part of the difficult hill-country of Judah in which he had long defied Saul, or may mean the "hold" of Jerusalem, which David had seized from the Jebusites (see note on xi. 5).

9. *the valley of Rephaim*] probably the shallow valley, now called Beḳā'a, across which runs the road from Jerusalem to Beth-lehem (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], pp. 15, 99).

10. *inquired of God*] doubtless by means of the sacred lot, the Urim and Thummim (see Hastings' *D.B. s.v.*, and Kirkpatrick's notes on 1 Sam. x. 22, xxiii. 6).

11. *Baal-perazim*] probably to be identified with the *Mount Perazim* of Is. xxviii. 21, but the situation is unknown.

like the breach of waters] i.e. like the breach made by waters.

12 of that place [1] Baal-perazim. And they left their gods there;
and David gave commandment, and they were burned with
13 fire. And the Philistines yet again made a raid in the
14 valley. And David inquired again of God; and God said
unto him, Thou shalt not go up after them: turn away from
them, and come upon them over against the [2] mulberry trees.
15 And it shall be, when thou hearest the sound of marching
in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt go

[1] That is, *The place of breakings forth.* [2] Or, *balsam trees*

Probably the scene of the victory was a hill deeply scarred with water-courses. The force with which God broke through the army of the Philistines is compared with that of a torrent bursting forth from the hill-side or forcing its way through all obstacles. *Baal-perazim* = the Lord of breakings forth, i.e. upon the foe.

12. *David gave commandment, and they were burned*] In 2 Sam. v. 21 (R.V.) *David and his men took them away.* The Chronicler alters this statement so as to make David's conduct agree with the Law (Deut. vii. 5, 25) which enjoined that graven images were to be burnt with fire.

13. *yet again*] This invasion of "all the Philistines" (ver. 8) was too serious to be repelled by a single defeat.

in the valley] in 2 Sam. v. 22, *in the valley of Rephaim*, as in ver. 9 above.

14. *Thou shalt not go up after them*] In 2 Sam. v. 23 the words *after them* are connected with the following verb: *Thou shalt not go up: make a circuit behind them.* In Samuel the command is to assail the rear of the enemy, in Chronicles to avoid the rear (which was perhaps protected by a rear-guard) and to attack (presumably) the flank. The reading in Chronicles is to be preferred as a harder reading, which yields good sense on examination.

from them] The Heb. word suggests that David occupied a commanding position from which he would be tempted to attack.

over against the mulberry trees] Render, **along, parallel to.** The line of David's attack is to be parallel to a line of mulberry trees (or to a ridge on which mulberry trees stood) situate probably at right angles to the line of the Philistine march. Thus David's advance would be concealed from the Philistines until the very moment of the attack, which would fall on the flank of the Philistine march.

mulberry trees] or, as mg., **balsam trees.** Some kind of tree or shrub from which gum exudes seems to be meant.

15. *the sound of marching*] the sound of the wind in the trees is to be taken as an omen from Jehovah, indicating the favourable moment for the assault. The Targ., characteristically, has *the sound of angels coming to thy help.*

out to battle: for God is gone out before thee to smite the host of the Philistines. And David did as God commanded him: and they smote the host of the Philistines from [1]Gibeon even to Gezer. And the fame of David went out into all lands; and the LORD brought the fear of him upon all nations.

And *David* made him houses in the city of David; and he prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent. Then David said, None ought to carry the ark of God but the Levites: for them hath the LORD chosen to carry the ark of God, and to minister unto him for ever. And David assembled all Israel at Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the LORD unto its place, which he had prepared for it. And David gathered together the sons of Aaron,

[1] In 2 Sam. v. 25, *Geba*.

thou shalt go out to battle] Sam. has a more vivid phrase, *thou shalt bestir thyself*.

16. *smote the host of the Philistines from Gibeon even to Gezer*] This victory was decisive; the main army of the Philistines was routed.

Gezer] Cp. vi. 67, note.

CH. XV. 1—24. DAVID'S PREPARATIONS FOR BRINGING THE ARK TO JERUSALEM.

There is no parallel in Sam. to this section.

In 2 Sam. vi. 12 the reason given for the renewal of David's attempt to bring the Ark to Jerusalem is the report of the blessing which was said to have befallen Obed-edom, in whose house the Ark had been left. The Chronicler is not ignorant of this tradition since he refers to it incidentally in xiii. 14, but it would be very far from his sense of the fitness of things to adduce it as the motive for David's action. On the contrary he declares in this section that David was prompted by a realisation that the ill-success of the first attempt was due to failure to observe the regulations of the Levitical Law. Full attention now being given to the prescribed ritual, David succeeds in his pious purpose.

1. *made him houses*] Cp. 2 Sam. v. 9.

a tent] a new tent, not the old tabernacle which the Chronicler believed to be at Gibeon (see xvi. 39).

2. *None...but the Levites*] Num. i. 50, vii. 9. Nothing is said in the parallel place (2 Sam. vi. 13) of the Levites, but bearers (and not a cart) are spoken of with regard to this second attempt. Cp. 2 Chr. v. 4, note.

3. *assembled all Israel*] It was a solemn religious *assembly* (Heb. *Ḳāhāl*, Greek ἐκκλησία).

5 and the Levites: of the sons of Kohath: Uriel the chief,
6 and his brethren an hundred and twenty: of the sons of
Merari; Asaiah the chief, and his brethren two hundred
7 and twenty: of the sons of Gershom; Joel the chief, and
8 his brethren an hundred and thirty: of the sons of
Elizaphan; Shemaiah the chief, and his brethren two
9 hundred: of the sons of Hebron; Eliel the chief, and his
10 brethren fourscore: of the sons of Uzziel; Amminadab the
11 chief, and his brethren an hundred and twelve. And David
called for Zadok and Abiathar the priests, and for the

5—10. Remark that besides the three great Levitical divisions, Kohathites, Gershonites, and Merarites, three additional classes (sons of Elizaphan, of Hebron, and of Uzziel) are given in vv. 8—10. This unusual sixfold division, and the smallness of the numbers of Levites have been taken as indicating that the whole passage xv. 1—15 is drawn by the Chronicler from an earlier source, but the argument is not convincing. "The text does not imply that Elizaphan, Hebron, and Uzziel were coordinated with Kohath, Gershom, and Merari"; and the small numbers are accounted for by the view that only selected Levites were chosen for the task (so Curtis, *ad loc.*).

5. *the sons of Kohath; Uriel*] Kohath had four sons (Ex. vi. 18= 1 Chr. vi. 18): Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel. Here the descendants of Amram (exclusive of the priests, the Aaronites) represented by Uriel head the list (ver. 5), and the descendants of Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel appear in vv. 8, 9, 10 respectively. *Elizaphan* (ver. 8) either stands for the *Izhar* of Ex. vi. 18, or is the name of some prominent descendant of Izhar after whom the whole family was named. He is mentioned again in 2 Chr. xxix. 13. As regards number the Kohathites were 512 against 350 of the sons of Merari and the sons of Gershom combined. In vi. 60—63 (45—48, Heb.) 23 cities are reckoned to Kohath against 25 to Merari and Gershom combined. The Kohathites formed the largest and most important of the three divisions of the Levites.

11. *Zadok and Abiathar*] This double priesthood (2 Sam. viii. 17, xv. 29, 35, xix. 11, xx. 25) came to an end in the reign of Solomon (1 Kin. ii. 27, 35). *Zadok* is always mentioned first as being descended from Eleazar the third son of Aaron, while Ithamar from whom *Abiathar* (Ahimelech) was descended through Eli (1 Kin. ii. 27) was the fourth son (xxiv. 1, 3). In two of the passages quoted in this note *Abiathar* (probably being confused with his father) is called *Ahimelech* or *Abimelech* (2 Sam. viii. 17=1 Chr. xviii. 16; 1 Chr. xxiv. 3). Conversely in Mark ii. 26 *Ahimelech* is called *Abiathar*. In the Chronicler's list of high-priests (vi. 4—14) *Zadok* alone is mentioned, the line of Eleazar alone being given.

Levites, for Uriel, Asaiah, and Joel, Shemaiah, and Eliel, and Amminadab, and said unto them, Ye are the heads of 12
the fathers' *houses* of the Levites: sanctify yourselves, both
ye and your brethren, that ye may bring up the ark of the
LORD, the God of Israel, unto *the place* that I have prepared
for it. For because ye *bare it* not at the first, the LORD 13
our God made a breach upon us, for that we sought him
not according to the ordinance. So the priests and the 14
Levites sanctified themselves to bring up the ark of the
LORD, the God of Israel. And the children of the Levites 15
bare the ark of God upon their shoulders with the staves
thereon, as Moses commanded according to the word of
the LORD. And David spake to the chief of the Levites 16
to appoint their brethren the singers, with instruments of
music, psalteries and harps and cymbals, sounding aloud
and lifting up the voice with joy. So the Levites appointed 17
Heman the son of Joel; and of his brethren, Asaph the
son of Berechiah; and of the sons of Merari their brethren,
Ethan the son of Kushaiah; and with them their brethren 18

the priests] Only the two chief priests are mentioned here. Other priests blew with the trumpets in front of the Ark (ver. 24).

12. *sanctify yourselves*] Cp. 2 Chr. xxix. 5. For the method of sanctifying cp. Ex. xix. 10, 15.

13. *made a breach*] xiii. 11, xiv. 11 (cp. mg.).

we sought him not] i.e. God; but a better rendering is **we sought not unto it.** Cp. note on xiii. 3.

according to the ordinance] For its observance, see ver. 15.

15. *the children of the Levites bare...upon their shoulders*] in accordance with the regulation of Num. i. 50, vii. 9, which was not observed in the first attempt when the Ark was placed in a cart, xiii. 7.

the staves] Ex. xxv. 13, 14.

16. *psalteries*] See note on xiii. 8.

17. *Heman the son of Joel*] a descendant of Samuel the prophet; vi. 33 (vi. 18, Heb.). Cp. Ps. lxxxviii. (title). As *Heman* was descended from Kohath, *Asaph* from Gershom, and *Ethan* from Merari, each division of the Levites was represented by a chief musician. *Heman* was king's seer (xxv. 5).

Asaph the son of Berechiah] a descendant of Gershom; vi. 39—43 (24—28, Heb.). Asaph was the chief of the musicians; xvi. 5, 7. One of the small collections of Psalms from which our Psalter was compiled was named after him; cp. the titles of Pss. l., lxxiii.—lxxxiii.

Ethan the son of Kushaiah] a descendant of Merari; vi. 44—47.

of the second degree. Zechariah, Ben, and Jaaziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, Eliab, and Benaiah, and Maaseiah, and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mik-
19 neiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, the doorkeepers. So the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, *were appointed*, with
20 cymbals of brass to sound aloud; and Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries set to Alamoth;
21 and Mattithiah, and Eliphelehu, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps set to the
22 Sheminith, to lead. And Chenaniah, chief of the Levites, was over [1]the song: he instructed about [1]the song, because

[1] Or, *the carrying* of the ark Heb. *the lifting up.*

Cp. Ps. lxxxix. (title). He is apparently called *Jeduthun* in xxv. 1—6. See also the note on xvi. 41.

18—24. These verses present several obscurities which can hardly be explained except by the supposition that the original text of the Chronicler has been added to by a later writer with intricate results. Several reconstructions are possible, the most plausible being that of Curtis which is followed in these notes.

18. *their brethren of the second degree*] Read rather **their twelve brethren**: twelve being the number of names from Zechariah to Mikneiah. The last two, Obed-edom and Jeiel, were "doorkeepers," not "singers," although they were mistakenly supposed to belong to the list of singers by the author of vv. 19—21 (see further regarding Obed-edom the note on xvi. 38).

Ben] This word, which means "son," is an error. Read probably **Bani**.

the doorkeepers] See the notes on ix. 17.

19—21. Probably an addition interpolated by someone interested in the detailed organisation of the Levitical choirs. The names are taken from ver. 18, except that *Ben* is omitted, and a new name Azaziah is added at the end of the list. Since Obed-edom and Jeiel are included among the singers here, the reading "of the second degree" (which is regarded above as an error for an original "twelve": a slight change in Heb.) must have been found in the text of ver. 18 which the interpolator used.

to sound aloud] The cymbals mark the time for the other instruments.

20. *set to Alamoth*] an obscure phrase, its musical significance being uncertain; cp. Ps. xlvi. (title), R.V.

21. *set to the Sheminith*] As in the case of *Alamoth*, the precise musical significance of *Sheminith* is obscure. Cp. Ps. vi. (title, R.V. mg.).

22. *was over the song*] The Heb. word (*massa*) here twice rendered

he was skilful. And Berechiah and Elkanah were door- 23
keepers for the ark. And Shebaniah, and Joshaphat, and 24
Nethanel, and Amasai, and Zechariah, and Benaiah, and
Eliezer, the priests, did blow with the trumpets before the
ark of God: and Obed-edom and Jehiah were doorkeepers
for the ark. So David, and the elders of Israel, and the 25
captains over thousands, went to bring up the ark of the
covenant of the LORD out of the house of Obed-edom with
joy: and it came to pass, when God helped the Levites 26
that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, that they
sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams. And David was 27
clothed with a robe of fine linen, and all the Levites that
bare the ark, and the singers, and Chenaniah the master of
[1]the song *with* the singers: and David had upon him an

[1] Or, *the carrying* of the ark Heb. *the lifting up.*

"song" means "uplifting," either of the voice in song, or in a physical sense = "burden"; hence mg. *was over the carrying* of the ark.

23. *were doorkeepers for the ark*] The same statement is made in ver. 24 concerning *Obed-edom* and *Jehiah* (=Jeiel)! On Curtis' view, this verse was added by the same writer as vv. 19—21, who, having taken Obed-edom and Jeiel as part of the list of singers in ver. 18 no doubt thought that the names of the doorkeepers (the last word of ver. 18) had somehow been omitted. He supplied therefore here the names Berechiah and Elkanah (taken perhaps from ix. 16). A still later writer has attempted to put matters straight by further adding at the conclusion of ver. 24 "and Obed-edom and Jehiah (Jeiel) were doorkeepers for the ark."

24. *the priests*] In Num. x. 1—10 it is enjoined to make two silver trumpets to be blown by the priests on days of joy and on feast-days. This festal trumpet was different from the "cornet" (ver. 28), properly a ram's horn, which was freely used for secular purposes. See Driver, *Amos*, pp. 144 ff. (with illustrations).

25—XVI. 3 (cp. 2 Sam. vi. 12—20). THE BRINGING HOME OF THE ARK. MICHAL DESPISES DAVID.

26. *when God helped the Levites*] In 2 Sam. vi. 13, *when they that bare the ark of the Lord had gone six paces.* The Chronicler interprets the safe start as a sign of Divine assistance.

seven bullocks and seven rams] In Sam. *an ox and a fatling* (so R.V., not, *oxen and fatlings* as A.V.). The smaller sacrifice of Sam. is represented as the king's own offering, the larger sacrifice of Chron. as that of the king and his elders combined.

27. *of the song*] mg., *of the carrying* of the ark. Cp. ver. 22, note.

28 ephod of linen. Thus all Israel brought up the ark of the
covenant of the LORD with shouting, and with sound of the
cornet, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, sounding aloud
29 with psalteries and harps. And it came to pass, as the ark
of the covenant of the LORD came to the city of David, that
Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window, and
saw king David dancing and playing; and she despised him
16 in her heart. And they brought in the ark of God, and set
it in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it:
and they offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before
2 God. And when David had made an end of offering the
burnt offering and the peace offerings, he blessed the people
3 in the name of the LORD. And he dealt to every one of
Israel, both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread,
and a portion [1]*of flesh*, and a cake of raisins.

[1] Or, *of wine*

an ephod of linen] worn exceptionally by David for the purpose of the religious procession. A linen ephod was the ordinary vestment for all priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18). The high-priest's ephod was a more elaborate garment (Ex. xxviii. 6—12), fitted with the means of divination (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9—12).

28. *with shouting*] The Heb. word (*tĕrū'ah*) is technical in the sense of *a blast* with the festal trumpets (Num. x. 1—10), and in this sense it should be taken here, since the Chronicler has expanded the account given in Sam. by introducing a mention of these trumpets.

29. *playing*] a synonym of *dancing*, obsolete in modern English. The closest rendering is perhaps, **leaping as in sport**. The unrestrained joyousness of this action might easily degenerate (as in idolatrous worship) into licence. The Chronicler omits to say that the dancing was "before the Lord" (2 Sam. vi. 16). David's subsequent interview with Michal (*ib.* vv. 20—23) is also passed over in Chron.

CH. XVI.

1. *the tent*] Cp. xv. 1, note.

they offered] In 2 Sam. vi. 17, *David offered*. The Chronicler associates the elders with David as in xv. 26.

burnt offerings] Cp. Lev. i. 1—9.

peace offerings] The "peace offering" (Heb. *shelem*) was a thank-offering or an offering made in expiation of a vow; cp. Prov. vii. 14.

2. *blessed the people*] Cp. 2 Chr. vi. 3.

3. *a loaf of bread*] A flat round cake such as is still made in Egypt is meant.

a portion of flesh] mg. "of wine." The meaning of the Heb. word is unknown. *Of flesh* is rightly in italics here as in 2 Sam. vi. 19.

And he appointed certain of the Levites to minister 4
before the ark of the LORD, and to celebrate and to thank
and praise the LORD, the God of Israel: Asaph the chief, 5
and second to him Zechariah, [1]Jeiel, and Shemiramoth, and
Jehiel, and Mattithiah, and Eliab, and Benaiah, and Obed-
edom, and Jeiel, with psalteries and with harps; and Asaph
with cymbals, sounding aloud; and Benaiah and Jahaziel 6
the priests with trumpets continually, before the ark of the
covenant of God.

Then on that day did David [2]first ordain to give thanks 7
unto the LORD, by the hand of Asaph and his brethren.

O give thanks unto the LORD, call upon his name; 8
Make known his doings among the peoples.
Sing unto him, sing praises unto him; 9

[1] In ch. xv. 18, *Jaaziel.* [2] Or, *make it the chief work*

a cake of raisins] Cp. Is. xvi. 7 (R.V.) where the same Heb. word is used.

4—6 (cp. vv. 37, 38). DAVID'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR MINISTRATION BEFORE THE ARK.

4. *to celebrate*] The literal meaning is *to call to mind*; cp. ver. 12 (*remember*). Cp. Pss. xxxviii., lxx. (titles).

5. *Asaph*] Cp. xv. 17, note.

and Obed-edom] It is possible that the names Obed-edom, and Jeiel and Asaph (in the latter part of the verse) have been inserted by the interpolator who wrote xv. 19—21 and wished to accommodate these verses to the altered text in ch. xv.

6. *Benaiah and Jahaziel*] Two priests for the two trumpets.

Benaiah] In xxvii. 5, 6 a *Benaiah* son of Jehoiada the priest (R.V.) is mentioned who may possibly be identified with the Benaiah who was one of the thirty heroes (xi. 24, 25). Cp. also xii. 27.

7—36. THE PSALM OF PRAISE.

The psalm which follows consists of Pss. cv. 1—15, xcvi. 1 *b*—13 *a*, cvi. 1, 47, 48. It has been compiled from the Psalms just mentioned and placed here as an utterance such as would be appropriate to the situation. For detailed criticism as to the original form and present text of these Psalms, the reader must be referred to the commentaries on the Psalter. Only such comment is here given as seems called for in their present setting.

8—22 (=Ps. cv. 1—15).

8, 9. These verses are perhaps based upon Is. xii. 4, 5.

[1]Talk ye of all his marvellous works.
10 Glory ye in his holy name:
Let the heart of them rejoice that seek the LORD.
11 Seek ye the LORD and his strength;
Seek his face evermore.
12 Remember his marvellous works that he hath done;
His wonders, and the judgements of his mouth;
13 O ye seed of Israel his servant,
Ye children of Jacob, his chosen ones.
14 He is the LORD our God:
His judgements are in all the earth.
15 Remember his covenant for ever,
The word which he commanded to a thousand generations;
16 *The covenant* which he made with Abraham,
And his oath unto Isaac;
17 And confirmed the same unto Jacob for a statute,
To Israel for an everlasting covenant:
18 Saying, Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan,
The [2]lot of your inheritance:
19 When ye were but a few men in number;

[1] Or, *Meditate* [2] Heb. *cord*, or, *line*.

9. *Talk ye*] mg. *Meditate*. Meditation leads to fresh proclamation.
marvellous works] (cp. ver. 12). i.e. works beyond man's expectation; cp. Gen. xviii. 14, *Is anything too hard* (*wonderful*, R.V. mg.) *for the LORD?*

11. *and his strength*] Perhaps (altering only the points of the Heb. word) **and be ye strong**. So LXX. *καὶ ἰσχύσατε* (in Ps. cv. 4 *καὶ κραταιώθητε*). A promise is sometimes expressed in Heb. by the imperative.

12. *His wonders*] in particular, the marvels of the deliverance from Egypt; Ps. cv. 27—36.

13. *of Israel*] Ps. cv. 6, *of Abraham*.

14. *His judgements are in all the earth*] Cp. vv. 20—22.

15. *Remember*] Read (with Ps. cv. 8) **He hath remembered**. Cp. Ex. xxiv. 3—8, xxxiv. 10—27.

18. *The lot*] The Heb. word ("*hebel*") means *a portion* not *assigned by lot* but *measured by line*; cp. mg. Canaan is co-extensive with Israel's inheritance.
inheritance] All nations receive an inheritance from God; Deut. xxxii. 8.

19. *When ye were*] Ps. cv. 12, *When they were*.

Yea, very few, and sojourners in it;
And they went about from nation to nation, 20
And from one kingdom to another people.
He suffered no man to do them wrong; 21
Yea, he reproved kings for their sakes;
Saying, Touch not mine anointed ones, 22
And do my prophets no harm.
Sing unto the LORD, all the earth; 23
Shew forth his salvation from day to day.
Declare his glory among the nations, 24
His marvellous works among all the peoples.
For great is the LORD, and highly to be praised: 25
He also is to be feared above all gods.
For all the gods of the peoples are [1]idols: 26
But the LORD made the heavens.
Honour and majesty are before him: 27
Strength and gladness are in his place.

[1] Or, *things of nought*

sojourners] The patriarchs were not simply *strangers*, but strangers who made a long *sojourn* in Canaan.

20. *kingdom...people*] The "kingdom" is Egypt (Gen. xii.); the "people" the Canaanite and Perizzite (Gen. xiii.).

21. *he reproved kings*] Gen. xx. 3—7.

22. *my prophets*] Gen. xx. 7.

23—33 (=Ps. xcvi. 1—13).

23. *Sing unto the LORD*] In Ps. xcvi. 1, 2 this exhortation is thrice repeated; in Chron. it is once given. Note that ver. 2 *a* of the Ps. is also omitted here.

25. *to be feared above all gods*] i.e. to be feared as being above all "that are called gods," these being "things of nought" (ver. 26, R.V. mg.). The real existence of false gods is not assumed.

26. *made the heavens*] A fine epithet. Cp. Jer. x. 11, *The gods that have not made the heavens...shall perish from the earth.*

27. *are before him*] i.e. are His, belong to Him as His attributes. Perhaps also *before him* refers to God's abode in heaven, while the parallel expression *in his place* (Ps. xcvi. 6, *in his sanctuary*) refers to His temple on earth.

Strength and gladness] Ps. xcvi. 6, *Strength and beauty*. The reference seems to be to the *strength and gladness* (or *beauty*) which God bestows on Israel (Ps. lxviii. 35; Is. lxi. 3).

in his place] Read with Ps. xcvi. 6, **in his sanctuary**. Cp. the two preceding notes.

28 Give unto the LORD, ye kindreds of the peoples,
Give unto the LORD glory and strength.
29 Give unto the LORD the glory due unto his name:
Bring an offering, and come before him:
Worship the LORD [1]in the beauty of holiness.
30 Tremble before him, all the earth:
The world also is stablished that it cannot be moved.
31 Let the heavens be glad, and let the earth rejoice;
And let them say among the nations, The LORD reigneth.
32 Let the sea roar, and the fulness thereof;
Let the field exult, and all that is therein;
33 Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy before the LORD,
For he cometh to judge the earth.
34 O give thanks unto the LORD; for he is good:
For his mercy *endureth* for ever.

[1] Or, *in holy array*

28. *of the peoples*] An expectation that the Gentiles will turn to the worship of the true God is expressed not rarely in the Psalms; cp. Pss. xxii. 27, lxviii. 31, 32; and is, of course, one of the greatest contributions of O.T. faith to the religious aspirations of humanity.

29. *before him*] Ps. xcvi. 8, *into his courts.*

Worship the LORD in the beauty of holiness] Render as mg., **worship the Lord in holy attire** (see Kirkpatrick on Ps. xxix. 2, xcvi. 9; and cp. Ex. xxviii. 2). Cp. 2 Chr. xx. 21.

30. *The world also is stablished, that it cannot be moved*] In Ps. xcvi. 10 this clause is preceded by the words, *Say among the nations, The LORD reigneth*, and is followed by the words, *He shall judge the peoples with equity.*

31. *And let them say*] Ps. xcvi. 10, *Say* [ye]. The clause is displaced in Chron.; cp. note on ver. 30.

The LORD reigneth] i.e. the Lord is claiming His kingdom over the earth by coming to judge the earth; cp. ver. 33. Contrast Hab. i. 14, where the prophet complains that Jehovah is not asserting Himself as the ruler of men.

33. *to judge the earth*] The joy with which the coming judgement is greeted arises from the fact that the Hebrews regarded a judge as a champion of the oppressed and not as a precise interpreter of statutes.

34—36 (=Ps. cvi. 1, 47, 48).

34. *his mercy* endureth *for ever*] Cp. Ex. xx. 6, "shewing mercy unto a thousand generations of them that love me" (R.V. mg.).

And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, 35
And gather us together and deliver us from the nations,
To give thanks unto thy holy name,
And to triumph in thy praise.
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, 36
From everlasting even to everlasting.
And all the people said, Amen, and praised the LORD.
So he left there, before the ark of the covenant of the 37
LORD, Asaph and his brethren, to minister before the ark
continually, as every day's work required: and Obed-edom 38
with their brethren, threescore and eight; Obed-edom also
the son of Jeduthun and Hosah to be doorkeepers: and 39
Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests, before the

35. *gather us together*] A phrase which shows very clearly that the standpoint of the Psalmist is post-exilic.

36. *said, Amen, and praised the LORD*] In the Ps. (cvi. 48) "say, Amen! Hallelujah! (i.e. Praise ye the Lord!)." This verse belongs not properly to the Psalm, but is the doxology marking the conclusion of the fourth "book" of the Psalms. Apparently then the Psalms had already been arranged in the five collections or "books," into which they were finally divided, by the time of the Chronicler; but the argument is not conclusive since (1) the doxology *may* be really part of the Psalm, and (2) there is the possibility that vv. 7—36 are a later insertion in Chron.

37—43. THE SERVICE BEFORE THE ARK AND THE SERVICE AT GIBEON.

The description of the disposition of the Priests and Levites for the worship in Jerusalem and in Gibeon which was begun in vv. 4—6 is here resumed. vv. 37, 38 summarise vv. 4—6.

38. *Obed-edom with their brethren*] A name or names seems to be missing after Obed-edom. The LXX. cuts the knot by reading simply "and *his* brethren." Probably we should insert after Obed-edom the words "and Hosah" from the last part of the verse: see the following note.

Obed-edom also the son of Jeduthun] If the view of xv. 19—21 and xvi. 5 taken above be correct, these words also may be deleted as a harmonising gloss, added by someone who wished to insist on Obed-edom as a *singer*, and hence gave him a place in the line of Jeduthun, one of the three great choral guilds.

39. *Zadok the priest*] As Zadok alone is here mentioned as "before the tabernacle," the Chronicler perhaps implies that Abiathar (Ahimelech) the other high-priest was in charge of the Ark in Jerusalem. On Zadok and Abiathar, see xv. 11, note.

tabernacle of the LORD in the high place that was at Gibeon,
40 to offer burnt offerings unto the LORD upon the altar of
burnt offering continually morning and evening, even ac-
cording to all that is written in the law of the LORD, which
41 he commanded unto Israel, and with them Heman and
Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, who were ex-
pressed by name, to give thanks to the LORD, because his
42 mercy *endureth* for ever; and with them Heman and
Jeduthun *with* trumpets and cymbals for those that should
sound aloud, and *with* instruments for the songs of God:
43 and the sons of Jeduthun to be at the gate. And all the
people departed every man to his house: and David
returned to bless his house.

17 And it came to pass, when David dwelt in his house,

the tabernacle of the LORD in the high place that was at Gibeon] See prefatory note to ch. xiii.; and 2 Chr. i. 3.

40. *the altar of burnt offering*] 2 Chr. i. 5, 6.

morning and evening] Ex. xxix. 38. 39 (= Num. xxviii. 3. 4).

41. *Jeduthun*] Pss. xxxix., lxii., lxxvii. (titles). In vi. 33—47, xv. 17, 19 the names of the leading singers are given as *Heman*, *Asaph*, and *Ethan*. Here and in xxv. 1 ff. however *Jeduthun* seems to take the place of *Ethan*. Probably there was a variation in the tradition as to the third name, two families competing each for the honour of its own ancestor.

42. *and with them*, etc.] The words *with them* are possibly repeated in error from ver. 41. Render perhaps, **And Heman and Jeduthun had trumpets and cymbals.** For *trumpets* cp. xv. 24 (note).

sons of Jeduthun] Perhaps a gloss connected with the statement in ver. 38, where see note on *Obed-edom also the son of Jeduthun.*

to be at the gate] David's organisation of the doorkeepers is given in xxvi. 1—19.

CH. XVII. **1—27** (= 2 Sam. vii. 1—29). GOD'S ANSWER TO DAVID'S EXPRESSED DESIRE TO BUILD A TEMPLE. DAVID'S THANKSGIVING.

This passage is a reproduction with some omissions and variations of 2 Sam. vii. The text is generally smoother in Chron., and in some cases (e.g. in ver. 6) we cannot doubt that the Chronicler has preserved an older and better reading than the present text of Sam., whilst in other instances the Chronicler has consciously emended his text of Sam.

1. *in his house*] Sam. adds, *and the LORD had given him rest from all his enemies round about.* The Chronicler omits these words probably

that David said to Nathan the prophet, Lo, I dwell in an house of cedar, but the ark of the covenant of the LORD *dwelleth* under curtains. And Nathan said unto David, Do 2
all that is in thine heart; for God is with thee. And it 3
came to pass the same night, that the word of God came to Nathan, saying, Go and tell David my servant, Thus 4
saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in: for I have not dwelt in an house since the day that 5
I brought up Israel, unto this day; but [1]have gone from tent to tent, and from *one* tabernacle *to another*. In all 6
places wherein I have walked with all Israel, spake I a word with any of the judges of Israel, whom I commanded to feed my people, saying, Why have ye not built me an house of cedar? Now therefore thus shalt thou say unto 7
my servant David, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I took thee from the [2]sheepcote, from following the sheep, that thou shouldest be [3]prince over my people Israel: and I 8
have been with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies from before thee; and I will make thee a name, like unto the name of the great ones that are in the earth. And I will appoint a place for my people 9
Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their

[1] Heb. *have been.* [2] Or, *pasture* [3] Or, *leader*

because his next three chapters (xviii.—xx.) are devoted to wars (cp. 2 Sam. viii. and x.).

Nathan] The prophet of the court in the reign of David: see e.g. 2 Sam. xii.; 1 Kin. i.

the ark of the covenant] So called because it contained the two tables of the covenant, 1 Kin. viii. 9.

2. *in thine heart*] The heart according to Heb. thought is the seat of intention and purpose.

3. *the same night*] Gen. xx. 3; 1 Sam. iii. 2, 3; 1 Kin. iii. 5; Job iv. 12, 13.

5. *I brought up Israel*] i.e. *out of Egypt* (so Sam.).

but have gone from tent to tent, and from one *tabernacle* to another] Sam. *but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle.* The Heb. text of Chron. defies translation; that of Sam. is better.

6. *the judges*] A better reading than *the tribes* (Sam.).

7. *sheepcote*] Better as mg. **pasture.**

9. *I will appoint*, etc.] i.e. will establish them in Canaan with complete ascendancy over their enemies.

own place, and be moved no more; neither shall the children of wickedness waste them any more, as at the
10 first, and *as* from the day that I commanded judges to be over my people Israel; and I [1]will subdue all thine enemies. Moreover I tell thee that the LORD will build
11 thee an house. And it shall come to pass, when thy days be fulfilled that thou must go to be with thy fathers, that I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall be of thy sons;
12 and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build me an
13 house, and I will establish his throne for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son: and I will not take my mercy away from him, as I took it from him that was before
14 thee: but I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and his throne shall be established for
15 ever. According to all these words, and according to all this vision, so did Nathan speak unto David.
16 Then David the king went in, and sat before the LORD; and he said, Who am I, O LORD God, and what is my

[1] Or, *have subdued*

waste them] Sam. *afflict them.*

10. *build thee an house*] Sam. *make thee an house*, the house meant being a dynasty, and not a building.

11. *that thou must go to be with*] Sam. *and thou shalt sleep with*, the usual euphemism for "to die."

12. *me an house*] Sam. *an house for my name.*

13. *my son*] Here Sam. adds, *If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men*: this the Chronicler omits in order that not even a suggestion of the coming evil days might at this stage rest on David and his line.

from him that was before thee] Sam. *from Saul whom I put away before thee.* The reading in Chron. is to be preferred.

14. *I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever*] Sam. *And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee* (but read *before me*). The reading in Sam. is no doubt the original. The change made in Chron. neatly expresses the Chronicler's conviction that the kingdom of Israel was not a human but a Divine institution, its true ruler being God Himself.

in mine house] Num. xii. 7; cp. 1 Tim. iii. 15.

16. *went in*] i.e. into the tent which he had pitched for the Ark; xvi. 1.

sat before the LORD] So LXX. and 2 Sam. vii. 18. The Targ. rightly paraphrases, "and tarried in prayer before Jehovah."

house, that thou hast brought me thus far? And this was 17
a small thing in thine eyes, O God; but thou hast spoken
of thy servant's house for a great while to come, and hast
regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree,
O LORD God. What can David *say* yet more unto thee 18
concerning the honour which is done to thy servant? for
thou knowest thy servant. O LORD, for thy servant's sake, 19
and according to thine own heart, hast thou wrought all
this greatness, to make known all *these* great things. O 20
LORD, there is none like thee, neither is there any God
beside thee, according to all that we have heard with our
ears. [1]And what one nation in the earth is like thy people 21
Israel, whom God went to redeem unto himself for a people,
to make thee a name by great and terrible things, in driving
out nations from before thy people, which thou redeemedst
out of Egypt? For thy people Israel didst thou make thine 22
own people for ever; and thou, LORD, becamest their God.
And now, O LORD, let the word that thou hast spoken 23
concerning thy servant, and concerning his house, be
established for ever, and do as thou hast spoken. [2]And 24

[1] Or, *And who is like thy people Israel, a nation that is alone in the earth &c.* [2] Or, *Yea, let it be established, and let thy name be magnified &c.*

17. *and hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree*] In 2 Sam. vii. 19, *and this* too *after the manner of men*, or rather *and this is the law for men* (an exclamation), but the text both in Sam. and Chron. is certainly corrupt. The Heb. phrase is not quite the same in the two passages, and there is nothing in Sam. corresponding with the words *of high degree*, but the text of Chron. seems to be derived from that of Sam. An emendation "and hast let me see the generations of men for ever," i.e. the fortunes of my distant descendants, has met with some approval, but no really satisfactory translation or explanation has yet been given of the Heb.

18. *concerning the honour which is done to thy servant*] Again an obscure text. Following Sam. we should probably omit these words.

thou knowest] Approvest, acceptest; cp. Ps. i. 6, ci. 4; Jer. i. 5.

19. *for thy servant's sake*] 2 Sam. vii. 21, *for thy word's sake*, but the LXX. of 2 Sam. agrees with the text of Chron.

21. *what one nation in the earth is like thy people Israel*] Better as mg., **who is like thy people Israel, a nation that is alone in the earth.** Cp. Targ. *a people unique and chosen in the earth.*

23. *be established*] Lit. be made *Amen* (i.e. "sure").

let thy name be established and magnified for ever, saying, The LORD of hosts is the God of Israel, even a God to Israel: and the house of David thy servant is established
25 before thee. For thou, O my God, hast revealed to thy servant that thou wilt build him an house: therefore hath
26 thy servant found *in his heart* to pray before thee. And now, O LORD, thou art God, and hast promised this good
27 thing unto thy servant: and now it hath pleased thee to bless the house of thy servant, that it may continue for ever before thee: for thou, O LORD, hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever.

24. *And let thy name...magnified*] Better, as mg., **Yea, let it be established, and let thy name be magnified.**

even a God to Israel] delete as a dittography.

25. *hath...found...to pray*] i.e. hath found words and courage to pray.

27. *hast blessed, and it is blessed for ever*] 2 Sam. vii. 29, *thou, O Lord GOD, hast spoken it; and with thy blessing let the house of thy servant be blessed for ever.*

CH. XVIII. **1—17** (=2 Sam. viii. 1—18). A SUMMARY OF DAVID'S FOREIGN WARS. DAVID'S OFFICIALS.

This chapter like the last is taken from 2 Sam. with a few omissions and variations. The Chronicler paraphrases (vv. 1, 17), omits (ver. 2), has a different reading (vv. 4. 8, 10, 12). In some cases the better reading is in Chron.

The campaigns (except perhaps that against Moab) seem to be narrated in chronological order. David first makes sure of his most pressing enemy the Philistines (ver. 1); then feeling safe towards the S.W. he turns towards the N.E. to secure on the Euphrates (but see note ver. 3) a station (valuable for trade) held by the Syrians of Zobah (ver. 3); the Syrians of Damascus fearing to be excluded from the River by David's success come to the help of their kinsmen (ver. 5); lastly the Edomites, urged perhaps by the Syrians to make a diversion in their favour and thinking it safe to attack Judah during the absence of David, join in the war, but are signally defeated by a detachment under Joab and Abishai (ver. 12).

The war with Moab (ver. 2) is surprising, if it took place at an early date in David's reign, for he seems to have been on specially friendly terms with the king of Moab during his exile; cp. 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4 and Kirkpatrick on 2 Sam. viii. 2.

And after this it came to pass, that David smote the 18
Philistines, and subdued them, and took Gath and her
towns out of the hand of the Philistines. And he smote 2
Moab; and the Moabites became servants to David, and
brought presents. And David smote Hadarezer king of 3
Zobah [1]unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his dominion
by the river Euphrates. And David took from him a 4
thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and

[1] Or, *by*

CH. XVIII. 1—13 (=2 Sam. viii. 1—14). A SUMMARY OF DAVID'S FOREIGN WARS.

1. *after this*] The phrase is adopted from 2 Sam. viii. 1 and probably came originally from a still earlier book of annals, in which the context may have been different. We cannot therefore say at what period of David's reign the conquest of Gath took place.

took Gath and her towns] It is impossible to say for certain whether this is the original text or only an interpretation of the obscure reading in 2 Sam. viii. 1, *took the bridle of the mother city* (R.V.).

2. *smote Moab*] The Chronicler at this point omits, as he often omits, some difficult words of Samuel. 2 Sam. viii. 2 seems to say that David put two-thirds of the Moabites (presumably the warriors) to death, but the meaning of the verse is uncertain.

brought presents] i.e. tribute, in acknowledgment of David's superiority. The same Heb. phrase (translated "bring an offering") is used Ps. xcvi. 8 of sacrificing to Jehovah.

3. *Hadarezer*] So spelt in 2 Sam. x. 16—19, but in 2 Sam. viii. 3—12, *Hadadezer*, the right form (as inscriptions show).

Zobah unto Hamath] Render as mg. **Zobah by Hamath**, the position of Zobah being fixed by the note that it was near Hamath.

Hamath] The modern *Hama* on the Orontes, midway between Antioch and Damascus, but somewhat further to the E. than either. See below ver. 9; also xiii. 5 and 2 Chr. viii. 3.

as he went to stablish his dominion] *He* may refer to Hadarezer or to David; the latter, probably, is the Chronicler's intention. The reading in 2 Sam. viii. 3 ("to *recover* his dominion"—R.V.) should be emended to the text in Chron.

by the river Euphrates] The utter improbability that David exercised any authority in regions so far north throws no doubt upon the reading, for the Chronicler and the author of Sam. may easily have believed that he did so.

4. *a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen*] Sam. *a thousand and seven hundred horsemen* (so Heb. but LXX. of Sam. agrees with Chron.). *Houghed*="hamstrung."

twenty thousand footmen: and David houghed all the chariot horses, but reserved of them for an hundred chariots.
5 And when [1]the Syrians of [2]Damascus came to succour Hadarezer king of Zobah, David smote of [1]the Syrians two
6 and twenty thousand men. Then David put *garrisons* in [1]Syria of [2]Damascus; and [1]the Syrians became servants to David, and brought presents. And the LORD [3]gave
7 victory to David whithersoever he went. And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadarezer,
8 and brought them to Jerusalem. And from Tibhath and from Cun, cities of Hadarezer, David took very much brass,

[1] Heb. *Aram.* [2] Heb. *Darmesek.* [3] Or, *saved David*

5. *Damascus*] The name is variously written in Heb., *Darmesek* (Chron.), *Dammesek* (Gen., 1 Kin.), *Dummesek* (2 Kin. xvi. 10). See G. A. Smith, *Damascus* in *Ency. Bib.*

came to succour] By interposing between David and his own land and so threatening his rear.

6. *put* garrisons *in Syria of Damascus*] mg. in *Aram of Darmesek*, i.e. in the Aramean kingdom of which Damascus was the capital. David's purpose of course was to secure his rear in any future operations towards Hamath or towards the Euphrates.

7. *shields of gold*] "shields" = Heb. *shĕlātim*. The meaning of the Heb. word is doubtful; most probably it does *not* mean "shield," for (1) a shield would not be described as "upon" the person to whom it belonged, (2) the early authorities, i.e. the LXX. translators, the Targum, and the Peshitta (on 2 Sam. viii. 7; 2 Kin. xi. 10; Jer. li. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 11) never give "shield," but either leave the word untranslated or give various conjectural renderings. A later authority (Targ. on 1 Chr. xviii. 7; 2 Chr. xxiii. 9) gives "shield," while LXX. gives "collars" (κλοιούς) here, and "arms" or "shields" (τὰ ὅπλα) in 2 Chr.

The most probable rendering of the word is "suits of armour" (see Barnes, *Expos. Times*, x. 43 ff.).

and brought them to Jerusalem] So Heb. LXX. Targ., but the Peshitta (all important MSS.) omits the words, and they may be a gloss introduced from 2 Sam. viii. 7.

8. *Tibhath*] Cp. *Tebah*, the name of an Aramean family, Gen. xxii. 24. Nothing is known certainly of the position of the city. In 2 Sam. viii. 8 *Betah* (= *Tebah*).

Cun] 2 Sam. viii. 8, "Berothai." Nothing is certainly known of a city of either name; but "Berothai" may be the same as "Berothah" (Ezek. xlvii. 16).

very much brass] Cp. xxi. 14, xxix. 2.

brass] Not the metal generally so called. R.V. (mg. note to Gen.

wherewith Solomon made the brasen sea, and the pillars,
and the vessels of brass. And when Tou king of Hamath 9
heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadarezer
king of Zobah, he sent Hadoram his son to king David, to 10
salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against
Hadarezer and smitten him; for Hadarezer had wars with
Tou; and *he had with him* all manner of vessels of gold
and silver and brass. These also did king David dedicate 11
unto the LORD, with the silver and the gold that he carried
away from all the nations; from Edom, and from Moab,
and from the children of Ammon, and from the Philistines,
and from Amalek. Moreover [1]Abishai the son of Zeruiah 12
smote of the Edomites in the Valley of Salt eighteen thousand.

[1] Heb. *Abshai.*

iv. 22) gives *copper* as an alternative rendering. The "brass" of the ancients (χαλκός, LXX.) corresponds rather to *bronze*.

the brasen sea, etc.] Cp. 2 Chr. iv. 11—18.

9. *Tou*] In 2 Sam. viii. 9 "Toi" (so Heb., but LXX. "Tou").

Hamath] see above ver. 3. Hamath is sometimes referred to as the northern boundary of Israel, cp. 1 Kin. viii. 65; 2 Kin. xiv. 25, 28.

10. *Hadoram*] In 2 Sam. viii. 10, "Joram." Both these forms are probably Heb. adaptations of the real name.

he had with him *all manner of vessels*] Such informal tribute was an acknowledgment of David's suzerainty made in order to claim David's protection in war. Cp. the action of Asa (1 Kin. xv. 18, 19) and of Ahaz (2 Kin. xvi. 7, 8). In all three cases the policy was the same, i.e. to acknowledge a distant suzerain and so gain the benefit of a valuable alliance while losing the minimum of independence.

11. *from Amalek*] So 2 Sam. viii. 12, but we have no record of any war of David with Amalek except the account in 1 Sam. xxx.

12. *Abishai the son of Zeruiah*] In 2 Sam. viii. 13 David, and in Ps. lx. (title) Joab, receives the credit of this victory. Abishai might have commanded in the battle, while Joab (cp. 1 Kin. xi. 16) completed the conquest of the country; but it is highly probable that the reading *Abishai the son of Zeruiah* has arisen here through a copyist's mistake and that the true reading is **And when he** (David) **returned he smote Edom**, etc.

of the Edomites] Lit. "of Edom," so Ps. lx. (title), but in 2 Sam. "of the Syrians," lit. "Aram." The two words "Edom" and "Aram" when written in Heb. are very much alike and are easily confused. The reading "Edom" is right here.

the Valley of Salt] Probably the marshy flat (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 174) at the S. end of the Dead Sea. This valley is dominated by the Jebel

13 And he put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became servants to David. And the LORD [1]gave victory to David whithersoever he went.

14 And David reigned over all Israel; and he executed
15 judgement and justice unto all his people. And Joab the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat the
16 son of Ahilud was [2]recorder. And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Abimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests; and
17 Shavsha was [3]scribe; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and the Pelethites; and the sons of David were chief about the king.

[1] Or, *saved David* [2] Or, *chronicler* [3] Or, *secretary*

Usdum, a hill consisting "almost entirely of pure crystallised salt" (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 174)

eighteen thousand] Ps. lx. (title), "twelve thousand," not an important variation.

14—17 (= 2 Sam. viii. 15—18; cp. *ib.* xx. 23—26). DAVID'S OFFICIALS.

14. *unto all his people*] David was his own chief justice, but probably the work was too much for one man; cp. 2 Sam xv. 2—4.

15. *recorder*] mg., **chronicler**; LXX., *ὑπομνηματογράφος*. His business was probably to remind the king of his various duties of state.

16. *Abimelech the son of Abiathar*] In 2 Sam. viii. 17. *Ahimelech the son of Abiathar*, but read **Abiathar son of Ahimelech** in both passages. Cp. xv. 11, xxiv. 3, notes; and Kirkpatrick on 2 Sam. viii. 17.

Shavsha] 2 Sam. viii. 17, *Seraiah*; *ib.* xx. 25, *Sheva*; and 1 Kin. iv. 3 (perhaps), *Shisha*. *Shisha* and *Shavsha* probably represent two different attempts to pronounce a foreign name, perhaps Shamsha; *Seraiah* and *Sheva* are mere errors of transcription. Foreigners were admitted to posts of authority in the empire of David and Solomon; Ittai the Gittite and Uriah the Hittite are instances.

scribe] mg., **secretary**. See 2 Kin. xii. 10, xviii. 18. xxii. 3; cp. 2 Kin. xxv. 19, a passage which suggests that there was a second scribe with military duties. The first, the king's scribe, would formulate the king's orders and conduct his correspondence with foreign powers. Shavsha's sons held the office in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kin. iv. 3.

17. *Benaiah*] Cp. xi. 22—25.

the Cherethites and the Pelethites] David's bodyguard. The Cherethites were almost certainly Philistines (1 Sam. xxx. 14; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5), the Pelethites were probably also Philistines (2 Sam. xv. 18). Foreign bodyguards are well-known in history.

chief about the king] Lit., *the chief at the king's hand*, i.e. formed the executive to carry out his commands; cp. Neh. xi. 24. In 2 Sam.

And it came to pass after this, that Nahash the king 19
of the children of Ammon died, and his son reigned in his
stead. And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun 2
the son of Nahash, because his father shewed kindness to
me. So David sent messengers to comfort him concerning
his father. And David's servants came into the land of the
children of Ammon to Hanun, to comfort him. But the 3
princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanun, Thinkest
thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent

viii. 18 (R V.) David's sons are described as *priests*, a statement which is in all probability correct, but which the Chronicler, following the later theory of the priesthood, could not accept (see Introd., pp. xli f.).

Ch. XIX. 1—19 (=2 Sam. x. 1—19). War with the Ammonites and their Aramean Allies.

Chron. here omits the story of David's kindness in seeking out and befriending Mephibosheth (Merib-baal) the son of Jonathan (2 Sam. ix.), because he has ignored the story of David's relations with Saul. Further the Court History of David which occupies an important place in 2 Sam. is passed over altogether in Chron. Consequently the shameful episode of Bath-sheba, and the rebellion of Absalom vanish from the account of David. It is obvious how greatly the presentation of David's life and character is affected by these omissions. Yet from his point of view the Chronicler is right in passing these matters by in silence. He was concerned to present David essentially as the founder of the religious life of Israel as a kingdom and of the Temple as an institution of religion.

There are several variations in text between 2 Sam. x. and 1 Chr. xix., e g. vv. 6, 7 (addition in Chron.), 16 (omission from Chron.), 18 (variation in reckoning).

1. *after this*] The war with Ammon has already been referred to by anticipation in xviii. 11.

Nahash] Probably the Nahash mentioned in 1 Sam. xi. 1.

Ammon] The Ammonites were a kindred race to the Hebrews, being descended according to tradition from Lot, the nephew of Abraham; cp. Deut. ii. 19. The two Ammonite names here given are pure Hebrew, *Nahash* (="Serpent") and *Hanun* (="Favoured, *Fortunatus*"); the Ammonite language, like the Moabite, was doubtless very similar to Hebrew.

2. *sent messengers to comfort him*] A customary act of international courtesy; cp. 2 Kin. xx. 12. Its breach was resented. Thus in the Tell el-Amarna letters (x. 16) the king of Kardunias writes, "Should not my brother (i.e. the king of Egypt) have heard that I am sick? Why has he not comforted me? Why has he not sent his messenger, not looked into it?" (ed. H. Winckler, p. 23).

comforters unto thee? are not his servants come unto thee
for to search, and to overthrow, and to spy out the land?
4 So Hanun took David's servants, and shaved them, and
cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks,
5 and sent them away. Then there went certain, and told
David how the men were served. And he sent to meet
them; for the men were greatly ashamed. And the king
said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then
6 return. And when the children of Ammon saw that they
had made themselves odious to David, Hanun and the
children of Ammon sent a thousand talents of silver to hire
them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out
7 of Aram-maacah, and out of Zobah. So they hired them
thirty and two thousand chariots, and the king of Maacah

3. *the land*] 2 Sam. x. 3, *the city*, i.e. Rabbah (see xx. 1).

4. *shaved them*] 2 Sam. x. 4, *shaved off the one half of their beards.* Of course a great insult; cp. Is. l. 6.

cut off their garments] Jewish ambassadors are represented on the Black Obelisk (a monument of Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria, now preserved in the British Museum) as wearing robes reaching to the feet; Hanun reduced ambassadors to the level of captives; cp. Is. xx. 4.

5. *Tarry at Jericho*] Thus (1) the feelings of the ambassadors would be spared, (2) the insult would be less widely known until it had been avenged.

6. *a thousand talents of silver*] A very large sum; for a hundred talents Amaziah hired a hundred thousand men (2 Chr. xxv. 6).

chariots and horsemen] The Israelite armies on the contrary consisted chiefly of infantry, the country being for the most part unsuitable for horses.

Mesopotamia] Heb. "Aram (Syria) of the two rivers" (cp. Gen. xxiv. 10, R.V. mg.), i.e. probably the land between the Euphrates and the Chaboras. The Greeks used the term *Mesopotamia* of a wider district, i.e. of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris. This mention of Mesopotamia is probably premature, for in ver. 16 the summons of Syrians from beyond the Euphrates is spoken of as a new thing. The corresponding expression in 2 Sam. x. 6 is *Beth-rehob*, a district which has not yet been identified.

Aram-maacah] Cp. vii. 15, note; Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11.

Zobah] Cp. xviii. 3, note.

7. *thirty and two thousand chariots*] Cp. 2 Sam. x. 6, which reckons the army (including Maacah) at 33,000, of whom 20,000 are expressly described as footmen. The word "chariots" may have slipped in from ver. 6 instead of "men" or may be an intentional alteration, magnifying the war.

and his people; who came and pitched before Medeba. And the children of Ammon gathered themselves together from their cities, and came to battle. And when David 8
heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men. And the children of Ammon came out, and put the 9
battle in array at the gate of the city: and the kings that were come were by themselves in the field. Now when 10
Joab saw that [1]the battle was set against him before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the Syrians. And the rest of the 11
people he committed into the hand of [2]Abishai his brother, and they put themselves in array against the children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, 12
then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for thee, then I will help thee. Be of good 13
courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which seemeth him good. So Joab and the people that were with him 14
drew nigh before the Syrians unto the battle; and they fled before him. And when the children of Ammon saw that 15
the Syrians were fled, they likewise fled before Abishai his brother, and entered into the city. Then Joab came to Jerusalem. And when the Syrians saw that they were put 16

[1] Heb. *the face of the battle was against.* [2] Heb. *Abshai.*

Medeba] In the territory of Reuben; Josh. xiii. 26. The country round is a table-land suited for the manœuvres of chariots. The place of the rendezvous of the allies is not mentioned in 2 Sam. x., some words having probably fallen out of the text.

8. *David...sent Joab*] Why in such a crisis did he not go himself? Perhaps because he could watch the gathering of the more serious storm described in vv. 16—19 better from Jerusalem.

10. *he chose of all the choice men*] The Syrians were the more formidable because of the chariots they had; Joab therefore opposed to them the flower of his army.

13. *the cities of our God*] The cities which our God has given us and in which He is worshipped. If these were captured by the enemy, false gods would be worshipped in them. Religious feeling often supplies the place of patriotism in the East.

14. *drew nigh before the Syrians*] Without fear for their own rear advanced against the Syrian front.

15. *Joab came to Jerusalem*] Probably because he was wanted for the new danger gathering in the North.

to the worse before Israel, they sent messengers, and drew forth the Syrians that were beyond the River, with Shophach
17 the captain of the host of Hadarezer at their head. And it was told David; and he gathered all Israel together, and passed over Jordan, and came upon them, and set the battle in array against them. So when David had put the battle
18 in array against the Syrians, they fought with him. And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew of the Syrians *the men of* seven thousand chariots, and forty thousand footmen, and killed Shophach the captain of the host.
19 And when the servants of Hadarezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they made peace with David, and served him: neither would the Syrians help the children of Ammon any more.

16—19. The End of the Aramean War.

Three stages are apparent in the war with Zobah *as related in Chron.*, (*a*) that in which David secured a position on the Euphrates. xviii. 3—8, (*b*) the stage during which troops from Zobah acted as auxiliaries to the Ammonites, xix. 6—15, (*c*) the final stage which ended in the conclusion of a formal peace, *ib.* 16—19. The actual facts of David's activities against the Arameans are by no means easy to ascertain, as may be seen in the commentaries on the more complex account which is given in Sam.

16. *the Syrians that were beyond the River*] i.e. the Syrians of "Mesopotamia"; cp. ver. 6, note. 2 Sam. x. 16 adds, *and they came to Helam*; the position of Helam however is unknown.

Shophach] In 2 Sam. x. 16 called "Shobach." The whole allied army was united under one general.

17. *came upon them*] or possibly read, as 2 Sam. x. 17, **came to Helam**. According to 2 Sam. x. the Syrian army assembled at Helam, and was there attacked by David.

18. *seven thousand*] 2 Sam. x. 18, *seven hundred*: an intentional change made by the Chronicler to enhance the achievement of David.

forty thousand footmen] 2 Sam. x. 18, *forty thousand horsemen*. Swarms of horsemen have usually formed the strength of armies raised on the eastern bank of the Euphrates; but the reading in Chron. may well be correct.

19. *the servants*] i.e. his vassals and tributaries; in 2 Sam. "all the kings that were servants to Hadarezer." We are not told what course Hadarezer himself took; possibly, being deserted by his allies, he ceased from hostilities without making any treaty with David.

And it came to pass, at the time of the return of the 20
year, at the time when kings go out *to battle*, that Joab led
forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the
children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But
David tarried at Jerusalem. And Joab smote Rabbah, and
overthrew it. And David took the crown of [1]their king from 2
off his head, and found it to weigh a talent of gold, and
there were precious stones in it; and it was set upon David's
head: and he brought forth the spoil of the city, exceeding

[1] Or, *Malcam* See Zeph. i. 5.

CH. XX. 1—3 (=2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 26—31). THE SUBJUGATION OF AMMON.

The account of the siege of Rabbah is given more shortly in Chron. than in 2 Sam. From the latter we learn that the Ark was in the besiegers' camp (xi. 11), that the city was defended with spirit (xi. 17), and finally taken piecemeal (xii. 26—29).

1. *at the time of the return of the year*] i.e. in the spring, 2 Sam. xi. 1; 1 Kin. xx. 22.

the power of the army] The Heb. phrase is quite general in meaning: *the host of war, the military forces.*

Rabbah] the capital of the Ammonites; Jer. xlix. 2; Ezek. xxi. 20 (25, Heb.). Its site, now called '*Ammān*, is covered with important ruins of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The town lies in a fertile basin, its citadel on a hill on the north side.

David tarried at Jerusalem] In 2 Sam. these words introduce the story of David's adultery with Bath-sheba, which is omitted from Chron.

Joab smote Rabbah] In 2 Sam. xii. 27 Joab reports to David the capture of *the city of waters* (i.e. the lower city), and invites him to come and complete the conquest (presumably by capturing the citadel) in person. Probably the citadel was dependent for water on the river which flows through the town.

2. *of their king*] So also A.V., perhaps rightly, but many scholars prefer to treat the word as a proper name, rendering, as mg., *of Malcam* (cp. Zeph. i. 5), i.e. Milcom, the national god of the Ammonites (1 Kin. xi. 5). LXX. has a double translation of the one Heb. word: *Molchol* (*Molchom*) *their king*. The name of the god, whether the right form be *Molech* (1 Kin. xi. 7) or more probably *Milcom* or *Malcam*, means either "king" or, less probably, "counsellor." In the former case his image would in all probability wear a crown.

it was set upon David's head] A symbolic action implying that David completely annexed the Ammonite territory; other conquered nations retained a partial independence on condition of the payment of tribute.

he brought forth the spoil of the city, exceeding much] doubtless a

3 much. And he brought forth the people that were therein, and cut *them* with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes. And thus did David unto all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem.

4 And it came to pass after this, that there arose war at [1]Gezer with the Philistines: then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew Sippai, of the sons of the [2]giant: and they were subdued.

5 And there was again war with the Philistines; and Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite,

[1] In 2 Sam. xxi. 18, *Gob*. [2] Heb. *Rapha*. According to another reading, *giants* Heb. *Rephaim*

triumphal procession of captives and spoil, such as an Assyrian relief in the British Museum represents passing before Sennacherib at the capture of Lachish.

3. *and cut* them *with saws*] Read probably (cp. 2 Sam. xii. 31, R.V. mg.) **and put them with saws**, i.e. put them to work with saws, etc. Cp. 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18; Josh. ix. 21—23. The implements mentioned here and in the parallel passage of 2 Sam. suggest task-work, not massacre. The Ammonites were reduced to bondage like that of Israel in Egypt. The exceptionally harsh treatment of the Ammonites was doubtless due to the exceptional insults which David's ambassadors had received from them. A very different spirit towards Ammon is shown in Deut. ii. 19.

4—8 (= 2 Sam. xxi. 18—22). PHILISTINE CHAMPIONS SLAIN.

This section is the last in which the Chronicler notices David's wars. It is taken from 2 Sam. xxi., where, however, it is preceded by an account (vv. 15—17) of David's narrow escape in an encounter with a Philistine.

Between the two sections of this chapter the Chronicler omits the account of the rebellions of Absalom and of Sheba, and the story of the Gibeonite vengeance on the house of Saul (2 Sam. xiii. 1—xxi. 14).

4. *at Gezer*] See vi. 67, note. In 2 Sam. *at Gob*, but no place called Gob is known. In 2 Sam. v. 25 it is said that David smote the Philistines "from Geba until thou come to Gezer."

Sippai] In 2 Sam. "Saph."

giant] Heb. "Rapha"; the same Heb. word in the plu. "Rephaim" is translated "giants" in Deut. ii. 11, A.V. These "Rephaim" dwelt east of Jordan.

5. *Elhanan...slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath*] In 2 Sam. xxi. 19, *Elhanan...the Beth-lehemite slew Goliath* (R.V.). The difference between the two sentences in Heb. is very small, and is due, no doubt, to the Chronicler, or a copyist, who felt that he was making a certain

the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam. And 6
there was again war at Gath, where was a man of great
stature, whose fingers and toes were four and twenty, six
on each hand, and six *on each foot*; and he also was born
unto the [1]giant. And when he [2]defied Israel, Jonathan the 7
son of Shimea David's brother slew him. These were born 8
unto the [1]giant in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David,
and by the hand of his servants.

[1] Heb. *Rapha.* [2] Or, *reproached*

emendation in substituting the brother of Goliath for Goliath himself, since, according to 1 Sam. xvii., Goliath was slain by David before he became king.

slew Lahmi] read **the Beth-lehemite slew**, etc.

6. *a man of great stature*] In 2 Sam. xxi. 20 (Heb.) *a man of contention*, i.e. a challenger or champion.

7. *Shimea*] See iii. 5, note.

8. *These were born unto the giant in Gath*] Again "giant" is the Heb. "Rapha" as in vv. 4, 6. The meaning is that these belonged to a branch of the Rephaim which was settled in Gath.

Ch. XXI. 1—27 (=2 Sam. xxiv. 1—25).

The Numbering and the Plague.

Comparison of these verses with the account given in Sam. discloses not a few interesting divergences, the more important of which are pointed out in the notes below (see especially the notes on vv. 1, 6, 25). In general it may be said that the account in Chron. curtails any features reflecting discredit on David and expands such as do him honour. Some scholars consider that the changes are of such a character that they may all be due directly to the Chronicler, but others see in them motives so various as to suggest the opinion that the Chronicler's source is not Sam. but an intermediate source. There may be a measure of truth in both contentions. So famous a tale may well have been recounted with modifications in the telling to suit the later idealisation of David. The Chronicler may therefore have been working from the text of Sam., but some of the changes he introduced may have been generally current, and for these he is in a sense not *immediately* responsible, although of course all were more or less in accordance with his taste.

The subject of the present section (David's numbering of the people and the plague which followed) is interesting in itself, quite apart from the comparison with Sam. Why was the census considered a sin? Various replies may be made. (1) Because the pride of David and the ambitions

21 And [1]Satan stood up against Israel, and moved David to
2 number Israel. And David said to Joab and to the princes of the people, Go, number Israel from Beer-sheba even to Dan; and bring me word, that I may know the sum of them.

[1] Or, *an adversary*

which the census might promote revealed a transference of trust from God to self, from spirit to numbers, from justice to power. This view accords with our modern moralistic standpoint, but other considerations call for mention. (2) Because, unlike the two numberings in the wilderness (Num. i. 1—16, iii. 39, xxvi. 1—65), it was not made by Divine command (cf. ver. 1, note). This thought may well have been present in the mind of the Chronicler. To it we may add (3) the popular dread of the census as a sinister and unlucky act. The ground of this dread was no doubt mainly practical, being due to the fear that the records might be used for purposes of fresh taxation or more stringent war-levies, but it may have its roots in an instinct, handed down from the thoughts of primitive ages, when written records were an uncanny mystery. Thus S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 69, remarks that the persistence of this fear among modern Semites is partially chargeable for the lack of correct statistics as to the population of Oriental towns. Frazer (in *Anthropological Essays to E. B. Tylor*, p. 174) refers to the dread of enumeration felt by the Lapps and by a West African tribe.

1. *And Satan stood up against Israel*] In 2 Sam. "And again (a former occasion being at the time of the famine, 2 Sam. xxi. 1) the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them." The change is significant of the late date of Chron. In an earlier stage of Hebrew thought human sin and folly are at times naively ascribed to the agency of God, e.g. "He hardens Pharaoh's heart" (Ex. x. 1, etc.): "quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat." At a later date the instigation of some subordinate "evil" spirit was adduced, e.g. 1 Kin. xxii. 20—24; and eventually this spirit of temptation was expressly termed "The Satan" or "Satan," i.e. "The Adversary." He was then regarded as a hostile spiritual being, the opposite of a *guardian* angel such as the Michael of Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. In the book of Job the Satan is very definitely said to act under the guidance and will of God. Here nothing is said of the Satan having been directed by Jehovah.

to number] Only those of military age (ver. 5), over twenty years of age (xxvii 23, 24), were included in the census.

2. *to Joab*] The object being to number "those who drew sword," the captain of the host was the most suitable person to entrust with the business.

from Beer-sheba even to Dan] From the extreme south to the extreme north of the land.

Dan] The modern *Tell el-Kādī*, about forty minutes distance from

And Joab said, The LORD make his people an hundred 3
times so many more as they be: but, my lord the king, are
they not all my lord's servants? why doth my lord require
this thing? why will he be a cause of guilt unto Israel?
Nevertheless the king's word prevailed against Joab. Where- 4
fore Joab departed, and went throughout all Israel, and
came to Jerusalem. And Joab gave up the sum of the 5
numbering of the people unto David. And all they of Israel
were a thousand thousand and an hundred thousand men
that drew sword: and Judah was four hundred threescore
and ten thousand men that drew sword. But Levi and 6
Benjamin counted he not among them: for the king's word
was abominable to Joab. And God was displeased with 7
this thing; therefore he smote Israel. And David said unto 8

Bāniās (Paneas), north of Lake Huleh (Waters of Merom). For its original name *Laish*, see Judg. xviii. 28.

that I may know] Either with a view to imposing a tax or to undertaking some fresh great military expedition.

3. *The LORD make...are they not all my lord's servants?*] Counting will not increase their numbers, only Jehovah's gracious favour can secure that. What more then can David desire than to know, as Joab now assures him, that one and all his subjects are loyal?

why will he be a cause of guilt unto Israel?] Cp. Lev. iv. 3, "if the anointed priest shall sin so as to bring guilt on the people" (R.V.). The community is a unit, and the guilt of one falls on all.

4. *came to Jerusalem*] In 2 Sam. xxiv. 4—8 the route is described and the time taken in the numbering is stated, *nine months and twenty days.*

5. *they of Israel*] Chron. gives Israel as 1,100,000 and Judah as 470,000; 2 Sam. gives Israel as 800,000 and Judah as 500,000. It is difficult to correlate these figures. There are, however, reasons for thinking that the last part of the ver. *and Judah was* 470,000, etc., may be a gloss. If so, then the 200,000 less in Chron. (1,300,000 in Sam.; 1,100,000 in Chron., where *Israel* would as so often denote both Israel and Judah) might well be explained as an allowance for the exclusion of Levi and Benjamin (see ver. 6).

that drew sword] All males over twenty years of age; cp. Num. i. 20.

6. *Levi*] In Num. i. 49 it is ordained that Levi is not to be numbered among the children of Israel, i.e. treated as liable to military service. The Levites were, however, numbered separately: Num. iii. 15, xxvi. 57. In 2 Sam. there is nothing to correspond with this verse, Levi and Benjamin being there reckoned in the census. Why the Chronicler excludes Benjamin as well as Levi it is not easy to see.

7. *he smote Israel*] with the plague.

God, I have sinned greatly, in that I have done this thing:
but now, put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy servant;
9 for I have done very foolishly. And the LORD spake unto
10 Gad, David's seer, saying, Go and speak unto David, saying,
Thus saith the LORD, I [1]offer thee three things; choose thee
11 one of them, that I may do it unto thee. So Gad came to
David, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Take which
12 thou wilt; either three years of famine; or three months to
be consumed before thy foes, while that the sword of thine
enemies overtaketh thee; or else three days the sword of the
LORD, [2]even pestilence in the land, and the angel of the LORD
destroying throughout all the coasts of Israel. Now therefore
consider what answer I shall return to him that sent me.
13 And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let me
fall now into the hand of the LORD; for very [3]great are his
14 mercies: and let me not fall into the hand of man. So the
LORD sent a pestilence upon Israel: and there fell of Israel
15 seventy thousand men. And God sent an angel unto

[1] Heb. *stretch out unto.* [2] Or, *and* [3] Or, *many*

8. *put away...the iniquity*] Render perhaps, **remove the punishment**; cp. Gen. iv. 13, R.V. with marg.: also 1 Sam. xxviii. 10.

9. *And the LORD spake*] The historian now retraces his steps to describe the circumstances which heralded the approach of the plague.

Gad] He is three times mentioned in Chron., each time as a "seer," viz. xxi. 9 (= 2 Sam. xxiv. 11); xxix. 29; 2 Chr. xxix. 25. He was perhaps an older contemporary of Nathan, who bears the more modern title of "prophet" (cp. 1 Sam. ix. 9).

10. *I offer thee three things*] The offer is a test of David's character, just as God's different offer in 2 Chr. i. 7 was a test of Solomon's.

12. *three years of famine*] 2 Sam., *seven years of famine* (LXX. however *three*, as Chron.).

three months to be consumed] The correct text, however, is probably that found in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13, *or wilt thou flee three months?*

the angel of the LORD] Cp. 2 Kin. xix. 35; Acts xii. 23.

coasts] Render, **borders**, i.e. through the whole land.

13. *into the hand of the LORD*] The answer reveals the sincerity and efficacy of David's penitence: a right spirit is renewed within him. He now *chooses* to trust in God.

14. *there fell of Israel*] 2 Sam. adds, *from Dan even to Beer-sheba.* The pestilence was throughout the whole land.

15. *unto Jerusalem*] The peril of the plague extends until Jerusalem itself is threatened.

Jerusalem to destroy it: and as he was about to destroy, the LORD beheld, and he repented him of the evil, and said to the destroying angel, It is enough; now stay thine hand. And the angel of the LORD stood by the threshing-floor of [1]Ornan the Jebusite. And David lifted up his eyes, and saw 16 the angel of the LORD stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem. Then David and the elders, clothed in sackcloth, fell upon their faces. And David said unto God, 17 Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbered? even I it is that have sinned and done very wickedly; but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, O LORD my God, be against me, and against my father's house; but not against thy people, that they should be plagued. Then the angel of the LORD commanded Gad 18 to say to David, that David should go up, and rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And David went up at the saying of Gad, which he spake 19 in the name of the LORD. And Ornan turned back, and 20 saw the angel; and his four sons that were with him hid

[1] In 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, &c., *Araunah*.

he repented him] Cf. Gen. vi. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 11, 35; Jon. iii. 10, etc.

It is enough] The sudden cessation of this pestilence has numerous parallels in the history of epidemics.

the threshing-floor of Ornan] The Chronicler makes this threshing-floor the site of the Temple. The author of Sam. is silent on the point. Cp. notes on vv. 25, 28, and especially xxii. 1.

Ornan] This is the form of the name throughout this chapter, but in 2 Sam. xxiv. the *Kerī* gives everywhere *Araunah*. The *Kethīb* of Sam., however, offers various forms, one of which (to be read *Ornah*, ver. 16) approximates to the form given in Chron. Variation in reproducing foreign names is common; see note on xviii. 5 (*Damascus*), and on 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6 (*Nebuchadnezzar*).

16. *saw the angel*] The full description of the vision is peculiar to Chron.; cp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 17.

and the elders, clothed in sackcloth] The wearing of sackcloth was doubtless accompanied by fasting; cp. Jon. iii. 5.

17. *let thine hand...be against me*] Cp. Moses' intercession in Ex. xxxii. 32; but Moses was innocent, David guilty.

20. *hid themselves*] in fear, lest they too should see the angel of Jehovah and their lives be thereby imperilled, cp. Judg. vi. 22, xiii. 22.

21 themselves. Now Ornan was threshing wheat. And as
David came to Ornan, Ornan looked and saw David, and
went out of the threshing-floor, and bowed himself to David
22 with his face to the ground. Then David said to Ornan,
Give me the place of this threshing-floor, that I may build
thereon an altar unto the LORD: for the full price shalt thou
give it me: that the plague may be stayed from the people.
23 And Ornan said unto David, Take it to thee, and let my
lord the king do that which is good in his eyes: lo, I give
thee the oxen for burnt offerings, and the threshing instru-
ments for wood, and the wheat for the meal offering; I give
24 it all. And king David said to Ornan, Nay; but I will
verily buy it for the full price: for I will not take that which
25 is thine for the LORD, nor offer a burnt offering without cost.
So David gave to Ornan for the place six hundred shekels
26 of gold by weight. And David built there an altar unto the
LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings, and
called upon the LORD; and he answered him from heaven
27 by fire upon the altar of burnt offering. And the LORD
commanded the angel; and he put up his sword again into
the sheath thereof.

21. *was threshing wheat*] By driving oxen over it; cp. ver. 23.

22. *the place of this threshing-floor*] The expression implies perhaps that David bought more than the mere area of the threshing-floor.

for the full price] Gen. xxiii. 9 (R.V.).

23. *the meal offering*] Cp. Lev. ii. 1—16.

25. *gave...for the place six hundred shekels of gold by weight*] In 2 Sam. xxiv. 24, *bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver*. The huge discrepancy here between Chron. and Sam. is noteworthy. If the price in Sam., 50 shekels of silver for threshing-floor and oxen, seems somewhat small (compared with the 400 shekels paid by Abraham for the cave of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 15—17), the 600 shekels of *gold* in Chron. is extravagantly large. It is accounted for by the fact that the Chronicler regarded the transaction, not as the acquisition merely of the site for the altar but of the area on which the Temple was afterwards built (see ver. 22). No sum could well seem too large for the purchase of ground destined to be so holy. The figure 600 may have been chosen on the ground that it was equal to a payment of 50 shekels for each tribe.

26. *peace offerings*] See xvi. 1, note. At the end of the verse LXX. (cp. Pesh.) adds, *and consumed the burnt offering*. Cp. Lev. ix. 24; 1 Kin. xviii. 38. The fire is not mentioned in 2 Sam.

At that time, when David saw that the LORD had 28
answered him in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite,
then he sacrificed there. For the tabernacle of the LORD, 29
which Moses made in the wilderness, and the altar of burnt
offering, were at that time in the high place at Gibeon.
But David could not go before it to inquire of God: for 30
he was afraid because of the sword of the angel of the
LORD. Then David said, This is the house of the LORD 22
God, and this is the altar of burnt offering for Israel.

CH. XXI. 28—CH. XXII. 1. THE SELECTION OF THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE.

28. *At that time*, etc.] The construction of this section must be carefully noted. Ch. xxi. 28 is continued by ch. xxii. 1, vv. 29, 30 of ch. xxi. being a parenthesis. The division of chapters here is unfortunate.

At that time] The phrase is taken up by "Then" of xxii. 1. The Chronicler wishes us to note that David regarded the success of his intercession at the floor of Ornan as an indication that this floor was God's approved site for the Temple.

29. *For*] The beginning of a parenthesis.

the tabernacle of the LORD] See the prefatory note to ch. xiii.; also cp. xvi. 1, 39, and 2 Chr. i. 3.

30. *he was afraid*] Or, **he was terrified**. The Heb. word is unusual.

CH. XXII.

1. *Then*] The word refers back to xxi. 28, *At that time.*

David said] The king acts in conformity with the law contained in Deut. xii. 5, 6.

This is the house of the LORD, etc.] Hence the necessity for relating the story of David's sinful action in taking the census. The Chronicler's desire to show only the idealistic aspect of David's life has frequently been pointed out. The present section, then, is notable as showing very clearly how even this desire was made to yield to the supreme object of relating the Divinely-guided origin and growth of the Temple and its worship.

2—19. DAVID'S PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDING THE TEMPLE. HIS CHARGE TO SOLOMON AND TO THE PRINCES.

It is of course quite probable that preparations for a Temple were begun in David's time, but the picture given in this chapter must not be taken as historically true, the material being of a general character such as the imagination could readily supply, and the figures mentioned in ver. 14 being impossibly exaggerated. The chapter in fact is the

2 And David commanded to gather together the strangers
that were in the land of Israel; and he set masons to hew
3 wrought stones to build the house of God. And David
prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of
the gates, and for the couplings; and brass in abundance
4 without weight; and cedar trees without number: for the
Zidonians and they of Tyre brought cedar trees in abundance
5 to David. And David said, Solomon my son is young and
tender, and the house that is to be builded for the LORD
must be exceeding magnifical, of fame and of glory throughout
all countries: I will therefore make preparation for it. So
David prepared abundantly before his death.
6 Then he called for Solomon his son, and charged him to
7 build an house for the LORD, the God of Israel. And David
said to Solomon [1]his son, As for me, it was in my heart to
8 build an house unto the name of the LORD my God. But
the word of the LORD came to me, saying, Thou hast shed

[1] According to another reading, *My son, as for me &c.*

outcome of the Chronicler's zealous but uncritical mind working in the belief that, not Solomon, but the pious David was the "moving spirit in the great enterprise." As Moses led Israel to Jordan's brink, so David (he thought) must stop short only at the actual building of the Temple.

2. *the strangers*] Cp. 2 Chr. ii. 17; viii. 7—9. Hewing of stone was regarded as task-work unfit for free men. This verse is simply an anticipation of the preparations recorded in Solomon's reign: see 2 Chr. ii. 1, 17.

wrought stones] All the stone used for the building of the Temple was previously cut to the right size; cp. 1 Kin. vi. 7.

4. *Zidonians and they of Tyre*] Cp. 1 Kin. v. 1—6 (15—20, Heb.).

5. *exceeding magnifical*] The Temple took seven years in building, and it was richly overlaid with gold, but its proportions were small, viz., about 90 ft. × 45 ft. × 30 ft. These small proportions are not surprising, for the Temple itself required only to be big enough to hold its furniture. The courts, however, were of large extent, that they might afford room for worshippers at the times of the great feasts.

Note the archaic *magnifical=splendid, stately* (magnificent). It is found of course in the A.V. (1611), and also in the Geneva Bible (1560); cp. Starkey, *England*, II. i. 176 (1538), "Gudly cytes and townys wyth magnyfycal and gudly housys."

7. *said to Solomon his son*] So *Kethīb*; the mg., **said to Solomon, My son,** follows the *Kerī*.

unto the name] Cp. Deut. xii. 5; 2 Sam. vii. 13.

8. *Thou hast shed blood abundantly*] Cp. xxviii. 3; in 1 Kin. v. 3

blood abundantly, and hast made great wars: thou shalt not build an house unto my name, because thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight: behold, a son 9
shall be born to thee, who shall be a man of rest; and I will give him rest from all his enemies round about: for his name shall be [1]Solomon, and I will give peace and quietness unto Israel in his days: he shall build an house 10
for my name; and he shall be my son, and I will be his father; and I will establish the throne of his kingdom over Israel for ever. Now, my son, the LORD be with thee; and 11
prosper thou, and build the house of the LORD thy God, as he hath spoken concerning thee. Only the LORD give 12
thee discretion and understanding, and give thee charge concerning Israel; that so thou mayest keep the law of the LORD thy God. Then shalt thou prosper, if thou 13
observe to do the statutes and the judgements which the LORD charged Moses with concerning Israel: be strong, and of good courage; fear not, neither be dismayed. Now, 14
behold, in my [2]affliction I have prepared for the house of the LORD an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver; and of brass and iron

[1] That is, *Peaceful*. [2] Or, *low estate*

Solomon tells Hiram that David wished to build a temple, but was hindered from his design by war.

9. *I will give him rest*] Cp. 1 Kin. v. 4. The promise here made is of a period of peace sufficiently long for the work of Temple-building. Solomon's reign was not wholly peaceful; cp. 1 Kin. xi. 14, 23, 26.

10. *for ever*] Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 13—16.

13. *be strong, and of good courage*] Cp. Josh. i. 9.

14. *in my affliction*] LXX. κατὰ τὴν πτωχείαν μου, and so mg. *in my low estate*. The exact meaning of the phrase is not quite certain. Does it refer to the comparative slenderness of David's resources (*in my poverty*), or to the difficulties of the wars and rebellions which marked his reign, or does it cover both ideas? Render perhaps **in my straitened circumstances**. Some translate **by my strenuous labour** (cp. xxix. 2), but there is insufficient evidence for rendering the Heb. word by *labour*.

an hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver] This sum is incredibly large. In 1 Kin. x. 14 it is told in illustration of the riches of Solomon—a wealthier king than David—that he received in one year 666 talents of gold; but even at this rate David would have amassed only 26,640 talents in forty years,

without weight; for it is in abundance: timber also and stone have I prepared: and thou mayest add thereto.
15 Moreover there are workmen with thee in abundance, hewers and workers of stone and timber, and all men that
16 are cunning in any manner of work; of the gold, the silver, and the brass, and the iron, there is no number; arise and
17 be doing, and the LORD be with thee. David also commanded all the princes of Israel to help Solomon his son,
18 *saying*, Is not the LORD your God with you? and hath he not given you rest on every side? for he hath delivered the inhabitants of the land into mine hand; and the land
19 is subdued before the LORD, and before his people. Now set your heart and your soul to seek after the LORD your God; arise therefore, and build ye the sanctuary of the LORD God, to bring the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and the holy vessels of God, into the house that is to be built to the name of the LORD.

23 Now David was old and full of days; and he made
2 Solomon his son king over Israel. And he gathered to-

and further the sum assigned to Solomon as his yearly revenue is fantastically large, see note 2 Chr. ix. 13. The passage illustrates the exaggeration which is so characteristic of midrashic style; cp. xxix. 4, and the note on 2 Chr. xvii. 14.

15. 16. *any manner of work; of the gold...there is no number*] Render **in every work of gold...without number**; i.e. the two verses are to be read in close connection.

18. *the inhabitants of the land*] Cp. xi. 4, *the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land.* The remnant of the earlier inhabitants of Canaan is meant.

19. *and the holy vessels of God*] Cp. 1 Kin. viii. 4.

CHAPTERS XXIII.—XXIX. THE CONCLUSION OF DAVID'S REIGN.

CH. XXIII. 1. SOLOMON MADE KING.

The Chronicler unhistorically ignores the struggle between the parties of Solomon and of Adonijah for the throne (cp. xxix. 22 f.; 1 Kin. i. 5 ff), and makes the reign of David culminate in the appointment of Solomon as David's successor and in a grand organisation of the ecclesiastical and other authorities of the realm. Ch. xxiii. 1 intimates the appointment of Solomon and the assembling by royal command of the princes, priests, and Levites of Israel. The topics thus suggested are then, after the prevailing fashion of Chron., treated in the reverse order; first the Levites, ch. xxiii.; then the priests, xxiv. (followed by the

gether all the princes of Israel, with the priests and the Levites. And the Levites were numbered from thirty years 3
old and upward: and their number by their polls, man by man, was thirty and eight thousand. Of these, twenty and 4
four thousand were to oversee the work of the house of the LORD; and six thousand were officers and judges: and four 5
thousand were doorkeepers; and four thousand praised

singers, xxv.; and the doorkeepers, xxvi.); then the civil and military orders. Ch. xxviii., xxix. are occupied with the concluding exhortations of King David. Cp. xxix. 22—24; 1 Kin. i. 5—53.

2—23. ORGANISATION OF THE LEVITES (first account).

3. *the Levites were numbered from thirty years*] Two accounts are here given of the organisation of the Levites. According to the first the Levites were admitted to service at thirty years of age; ver. 3; cp. Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, where the period from thirty to fifty is fixed as the period for service. According to the second account (vv. 24—27) the Levites were taken from twenty years old and upwards; this was apparently the later custom; cp. 2 Chr. xxxi. 17; Ezra iii. 8. The discrepancy probably arises from an actual variation in practice. The original age of admission for Levites was probably thirty, but owing to the scarcity of their numbers it seems to have been necessary to reduce the limit of age to twenty. But see also the note on pp. 51 f.

by their polls] Lit. *by their skulls* "Poll" is an almost obsolete word for "head," retained in the compound word, "poll-tax."

thirty and eight thousand] Num. iii. 39 gives 22,000, and Num. xxvi. 62, 23,000, as the number of male Levites from a month old and upwards in the time of Moses.

4. *twenty and four thousand*] These were divided into courses (ver. 6), serving by turn, apparently twenty-four in number, consisting each of a thousand men. See, however, the note on vv. 6—23 below.

to oversee the work] It is true that there were some Temple servants subordinate to the Levites—see note on the *Nethinim*, ix. 2. But the duty of the Levites was to perform the work of the Temple (as is said e.g. in vv. 24, 28), not to act as overseers of the work of others. It is therefore to be inferred that the "work" spoken of here and in ver. 5 is not the routine duties of the Temple but the work of its construction. Adding the Levites of ver. 4 to the officers, doorkeepers, and musicians of ver. 5, we have a total of 38,000 overseers: that the number is incredibly large is no objection in Chron.

officers and judges] Cp. 2 Chr. xix. 8, 11. According to Deut. xvii. 9 (cp. *ib.* xvi. 18) the *harder* causes were reserved for "the priests the Levites," ordinary causes being decided by judges who were not Levites.

5. *doorkeepers*] The courses and duties of these are given in xxvi. 1—19.

the LORD with the instruments which I made, *said David*,
6 to praise therewith. And David divided them into [1]courses
7 according to the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and
8 Merari. Of the Gershonites; [2]Ladan and Shimei. The
sons of Ladan; Jehiel the chief, and Zetham, and Joel,
9 three. The sons of Shimei; Shelomoth, and Haziel, and
Haran, three. These were the heads of the fathers' *houses*
10 of Ladan. And the sons of Shimei; Jahath, [3]Zina, and
Jeush, and Beriah. These four were the sons of Shimei.
11 And Jahath was the chief, and Zizah the second: but Jeush
and Beriah had not many sons; therefore they became a
12 fathers' house in one reckoning. The sons of Kohath;
13 Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, four. The sons of
Amram; Aaron and Moses: and Aaron was separated,

[1] Heb. *divisions*. [2] In ch. vi. 17, *Libni*.
[3] In ver. 11, *Zizah*.

four thousand praised the LORD] Cp. xxv. 1—31, which tells of a picked choir consisting of 288 persons, divided into twenty-four courses, whose special duty was psalmody.

the instruments which I made] Cp. 2 Chr. xxix. 26.

6—23. It is natural to expect that twenty-four heads of fathers' houses will appear in this list (cp. note on ver. 4), in harmony with the twenty-four courses of priests, of musicians, and of doorkeepers referred to in the chapters following. The present text, however, appears to yield but twenty-two, and the various emendations suggested in order to obtain twenty-four are all precarious. The best suggestion is that of Curtis, for which see note on ver. 22.

6. *the sons of Levi*] Cp. vi. 1, 16.

7. *Ladan and Shimei*] For "Ladan" here and in xxvi. 21 we have in vi. 17 and Ex. vi. 17 "Libni."

9. *The sons of Shimei*] This Shimei in distinction from the Shimei of vv. 7, 10 might conceivably be a descendant of Ladan, although the relationship is not indicated; but it is more probable that some confusion has come into the text of vv. 8, 9, 10—as e.g. that ver. 9*b* "These were...of Ladan" is a gloss, and that for *Shimei* in ver. 10 we should read *Shelomoth*.

10. *Zina*] Better, as in ver. 11, *Zizah*; the two words are readily confused in Hebrew writing.

12. *The sons of Kohath*] Cp. vi. 2; Ex. vi. 18.

13. *separated*] i.e. set apart, sometimes with the additional meaning of making a distinction between sacred and common. Cp. Rom. i. 1, where St Paul describes himself as *separated unto the gospel of God*; Acts xiii. 2; Gal. i. 15.

[1]that he should sanctify the most holy things, he and his sons, for ever, to burn incense before the LORD, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, for ever. But as for 14
Moses the man of God, his sons were named among the tribe of Levi. The sons of Moses; Gershom and Eliezer. 15
The sons of Gershom; [2]Shebuel the chief. And the sons 16 17
of Eliezer were, Rehabiah the chief. And Eliezer had none other sons; but the sons of Rehabiah were very many. The sons of Izhar; [3]Shelomith the chief. The sons 18 19
of Hebron; Jeriah the chief, Amariah the second, Jahaziel the third, and Jekameam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel; 20
Micah the chief, and Isshiah the second. The sons of 21
Merari; Mahli and Mushi. The sons of Mahli; Eleazar and Kish. And Eleazar died, and had no sons, but 22
daughters only: and their brethren the sons of Kish took

[1] Or, *to sanctify as most holy him &c.* [2] In ch. xxiv. 20, *Shubael.* [3] In ch. xxiv. 22, *Shelomoth.*

the most holy things] Such for instance as the altar of incense (Ex. xxx. 1—10), or again the shewbread (Lev. xxiv. 5—9).

to bless] Cp. Num. vi. 23—27.

14. *among the tribe of Levi*] The descendants of Moses as distinguished from those of Aaron had the standing, not of priests but of Levites.

15. *Gershom and Eliezer*] Cp. Ex. xviii. 3, 4.

16. *The sons*] Cp. the following verse; also ii. 31, where the plural, *The sons*, is thrice followed by a single name only.

Shebuel] rather, as in xxiv. 20, Shubael; so LXX. here.

17. *Rehabiah*] Cp. xxiv. 21.

18. *Shelomith*] In xxiv. 22, *Shelomoth.*

19. *The sons of Hebron*] Cp. xxiv. 23.

20. *The sons of Uzziel*] Cp. xxiv. 24. Nine Kohathite families seem to be here reckoned.

21. *The sons of Merari*] Cp. xxiv. 26.

The sons of Mahli] Cp. xxiv. 28, 29.

22. *their brethren*] Their kinsmen.

took them to wife] i.e. in accordance with the law stated in Num. xxvii. 4, cp. Num. xxxvi. 6, whereby daughters had a right of inheritance in hope of perpetuating the name of him who died without male heirs. Thus Eleazar, by his family through the female line, may be reckoned one of the heads of fathers' houses. If this view be correct, the list contains not twenty-two but twenty-three "heads"; and it may be conjectured that the one name more required to make up the desired total of twenty-four has been lost in the transmission of the text.

23 them *to wife*. The sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, and
24 Jeremoth, three. These were the sons of Levi after their fathers' houses, even the heads of the fathers' *houses* of those of them that were counted, in the number of names by their polls, who did the work for the service of the house
25 of the LORD, from twenty years old and upward. For David said, The LORD, the God of Israel, hath given rest unto his people; and he dwelleth in Jerusalem for ever:
26 and also the Levites shall no more have need to carry the tabernacle and all the vessels of it for the service thereof.
27 For [1]by the last words of David the sons of Levi were
28 numbered, from twenty years old and upward. For [2]their office was to wait on the sons of Aaron for the service of

[1] Or, *in the last acts* [2] Heb. *their station was at the hand of the sons of Aaron.* See Neh. xi. 24.

23. *The sons of Mushi*] Cp. xxiv. 30.

24—27. ORGANISATION OF THE LEVITES (second account).

24. *from twenty years old and upward*] The striking divergence between this verse and ver. 3, where *thirty* is given as the minimum age for service as a Levite, has given rise to much discussion—see the note to ver. 3. No doubt the concluding remarks of that note are true historically: a change in the interior age limit of the Levites *did* take place at some time on account of the need for larger numbers in office. But neither that fact, nor the theory (which is hardly borne out by other considerations) that the Chronicler has used varying traditions from two different sources, suffices to explain why he left the evident contradiction in his narrative. The desirability of explaining this circumstance strongly favours the view urged by Curtis, that in vv. 3 ff. the Chronicler meant to describe the Levitical organisation during and for the purpose of the preparation and erection of the Temple, whilst vv. 24 ff. relate to the period when the Temple was completed and the duties of the Levites, being both more numerous and at the same time of a more mechanical nature, might well seem to call for an increase in the number of those officiating. When the reduction of the age limit to *twenty* actually took place is of course immaterial; but it is quite in keeping with the manner of the Chronicler that he should thus carry both arrangements back to the time of David.

28—32. DUTIES OF THE LEVITES.

28. *their office was to wait on*] Literally, as mg., *their station was at the hand of.* For the phrase *at the hand of* cp. Ps. cxxiii. 2, *as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their master.*

the house of the LORD, in the courts, and in the chambers, and in the purifying of all holy things, even the work of the service of the house of God; for the shewbread also, and 29
for the fine flour for a meal offering, whether of unleavened wafers, or of that which is baked in the pan, or of that which is soaked, and for all manner of measure and size;
and to stand every morning to thank and praise the LORD, 30
and likewise at even; and to offer all burnt offerings unto 31
the LORD, in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the set feasts, in number according to the ordinance concerning them, continually before the LORD: and that they should 32
keep the charge of the tent of meeting, and the charge of the holy place, and the charge of the sons of Aaron their brethren, for the service of the house of the LORD.

And the courses of the sons of Aaron *were these.* The 24
sons of Aaron; Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.
But Nadab and Abihu died before their father, and had 2
no children: therefore Eleazar and Ithamar executed the

the chambers] Cp. ix. 26, note.

29. *for the shewbread*] i.e. for the preparation of the shewbread (cp. ix. 32).

that which is soaked] Cp. Lev. vi. 21 [14, Heb.].

for all manner of measure and size] i.e. for measuring the component parts of the meal-offering, etc.

30. *every morning...and likewise at even*] Corresponding with the daily morning and evening sacrifice; cp. Ex. xxix. 38, 39.

31. *to offer all burnt offerings*] This was the duty not of the Levites, who were to stand near-by praising Jehovah (ver. 30), but of the priests. The apparent difficulty is due to a mistranslation: render **and** (to stand, i.e. assist) **at every offering of burnt offerings**.

the set feasts] i.e. the yearly feasts; Ex. xxiii. 14—17.

32. *the charge of the holy place*] This duty is assigned to Levites in Num. iii. 28, 32; is restricted and confined to such Levites as were sons of Kohath in Num. iv. 15; and according to a variant tradition in Num. xviii. 5 is assigned to the priests.

the charge of the sons of Aaron] Cp. Num. xviii. 1—7.

CH. XXIV. 1—19. DAVID'S ORGANISATION OF THE PRIESTS BY COURSES.

1. *the sons of Aaron*] So vi. 3; Ex. vi. 23.

2. *Nadab and Abihu died*] by fire from heaven as a punishment for sacrilege—so Lev. x. 1, 2; Num. iii. 4.

3 priest's office. [1]And David with Zadok of the sons of
Eleazar, and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar, divided
4 them according to their ordering in their service. And
there were more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar
than of the sons of Ithamar; and *thus* were they divided:
of the sons of Eleazar there were sixteen, heads of fathers'
houses; and of the sons of Ithamar, according to their
5 fathers' houses, eight. Thus were they divided by lot, one
sort with another; for there were princes of the sanctuary,
and princes of God, both of the sons of Eleazar, and of the
6 sons of Ithamar. And Shemaiah the son of Nethanel the
scribe, who was of the Levites, wrote them in the presence
of the king, and the princes, and Zadok the priest, and
Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, and the heads of the
fathers' *houses* of the priests and of the Levites: one
fathers' house being taken for Eleazar, and [2]one taken for

[1] Or, *And David divided them, even Zadok &c.* [2] The Hebrew text has, *taken, taken.*

3. *Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar*] The colleague of Zadok in the priesthood is variously named in different passages:—

1 Chr. xxiv. 3. Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar.
1 Chr. xxiv. 6. ,, the son of Abiathar.
1 Chr. xviii. 16. Abimelech ,, ,, ,,

Probably the same person is meant throughout, the confusion springing from a false reading in 2 Sam. viii. 17, *Ahimelech the son of Abiathar* for *Abiathar the son of Ahimelech*; see the notes on xv. 11, xviii. 16.

according to their ordering] i.e. according to the arrangement which follows; cp. ver. 19.

4. *more chief men found of the sons of Eleazar than...of Ithamar*] The superiority of the Zadokites (sons of Eleazar) in the post-exilic period is read back into the days of David, and construed in the terms of a right of primogeniture: thus the proportion assigned here is sixteen to eight, i.e. Eleazar's descendants have a double portion, besides the right of the High-priesthood.

5. *one sort with another*] i.e. sons of Eleazar with sons of Ithamar.

there were princes of the sanctuary, and princes of God, both of the sons, etc.] The *princes of the sanctuary* (Is. xliii. 28) are probably the same as the *princes of God* and as the *chiefs of the priests* (2 Chr. xxxvi. 14). The Heb. expression in 2 Chr. xxxv. 8 is different (*rulers of the house of God*).

6. *the scribe, who was of the Levites*] so designated in order to distinguish him from the *king's scribe* (cp. 2 Chr. xxiv. 11).

one taken] This rendering involves a simple and entirely probable

Ithamar. Now the first lot came forth to Jehoiarib, the 7
second to Jedaiah; the third to Harim, the fourth to 8
Seorim; the fifth to Malchijah, the sixth to Mijamin; the 9, 10
seventh to Hakkoz, the eighth to Abijah; the ninth to 11
Jeshua, the tenth to Shecaniah; the eleventh to Eliashib, 12
the twelfth to Jakim; the thirteenth to Huppah, the 13
fourteenth to Jeshebeab; the fifteenth to Bilgah, the six- 14
teenth to Immer; the seventeenth to Hezir, the eighteenth 15
to Happizzez; the nineteenth to Pethahiah, the twentieth 16
to Jehezkel; the one and twentieth to Jachin, the two and 17
twentieth to Gamul; the three and twentieth to Delaiah, 18
the four and twentieth to Maaziah. This was the ordering 19
of them in their service, to come into the house of the

correction of the Heb. The alternate drawing here described could have lasted only for the first sixteen lots; in the last eight drawings the descendants of Eleazar must have drawn against each other only; cp. ver. 4, and the similar procedure described in xxv. 9—31.

7. *Jehoiarib*] Lists of the priestly families occur also Neh. x. 2—8, xii. 1—7, 12—21. Cp. Ryle (on Neh. xii. 1) for a discussion of the names. For *Jehoiarib* see ix. 10, note.

8. *Harim*] So Neh. x. 5, xii. 15, but in Neh. xii. 3, "Rehum." The confusion of form is easy in Hebrew writing.

9. *Mijamin*] So Neh. x. 7, xii. 5; but xii. 17, "Miniamin."

10. *Hakkoz*] Called "Koz" in Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21 (R.V. "Hakkoz" in all three places; so also in 1 Chr. iv. 8 where a Calebite *Koz* is mentioned). Unable to trace their genealogy in the records after the Return, this family is stated in Ezra (ii. 61) to have been deprived of their right to the priesthood.

Abijah] So Neh. x. 7, xii. 4, 17. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was of the course of Abiah (R.V. *Abijah*); Luke i. 5.

11. *Jeshua*] This is the Hebrew name expressed by Ἰησοῦς in Greek, and by "Jesus" in English. The high-priest under whom the second Temple was built bore this name according to Ezra iii. 2, v. 2.

Shecaniah] So Neh. xii. 3; but *ib.* x. 4, xii. 14, "Shebaniah." The Heb. letters transliterated *b* and *c* are easily confused.

12. *Eliashib*] A priest of this name is mentioned Neh. xiii. 4—7.

14. *Bilgah*] "Bilgah" (Neh. xii. 5) appears as a priest or priestly family in the time of the Return, and (under the form "Bilgai," Neh. x. 8) in the time of Nehemiah.

Immer] Cp. ix. 12; Ezra ii. 37; Jer. xx. 1.

16. *Jehezkel*] a more correct form of "Ezekiel," the name of the priest-prophet of the Captivity.

17. *Jachin*] Cp. ix. 10 (=Neh. xi. 10).

18. *Maaziah*] Neh. x. 8 (x. 9, Heb.).

LORD according to the ordinance *given* unto them by the hand of Aaron their father, as the LORD, the God of Israel, had commanded him.

20 And of the rest of the sons of Levi: of the sons of
21 Amram, [1]Shubael; of the sons of Shubael, Jehdeiah. Of Rehabiah: of the sons of Rehabiah, Isshiah the chief.
22 Of the Izharites, [2]Shelomoth; of the sons of Shelomoth,
23 Jahath. And the sons *of Hebron*; Jeriah *the chief*, Amariah
24 the second, Jahaziel the third, Jekameam the fourth. The sons of Uzziel, Micah; of the sons of Micah, Shamir.
25 The brother of Micah, Isshiah: of the sons of Isshiah,
26 Zechariah. The sons of Merari; Mahli and Mushi: the

[1] In ch. xxiii. 16, *Shebuel.* [2] In ch. xxiii. 18, *Shelomith.*

20—31 (cp. xxiii. 13—23). FAMILIES OF THE LEVITES.

These verses repeat the list of Levitic families given in xxiii. 6—23 with the important omission of the whole of the Gershonites (xxiii. 6—11), but with some additions to the Kohathite and Merarite families. Further, six "heads" of classes mentioned in xxiii. are here replaced by new names. These features, together with several details, point to the conclusion that the present list is the work of a later writer than the Chronicler.

20 *And of the rest of the sons of Levi: of*, etc.] These are probably the words of the glossator, introducing the list which follows and which he intended as a corrective to the list in xxiii. 6—23.

Amram] The four Kohathite families are now noticed in order, viz. Amram, Izhar (ver. 22), Hebron (ver. 23), Uzziel (ver. 24).

Shubael] Called "Shebuel" in xxiii. 16, xxvi. 24.

21. *Of Rahabiah*] He (like Shubael) was descended from Moses; xxiii. 15—17.

22. *Shelomoth*] Called "Shelomith" in xxiii. 18.

23. *And the sons* of Hebron; *Jeriah* the chief] The words *of Hebron* and *the chief* which are printed in italics in the text above have been omitted in the Heb. by some error of transmission. They are rightly restored in accordance with xxiii. 19.

26. *The sons of Merari*] In xxiii 21 only two families of Merari are mentioned, viz., Mahli and Mushi. Here however a third family "the sons of Jaaziah" is mentioned. Probably the fuller text is right to this extent that there was a family tracing their ancestry to Jaaziah and claiming that this Jaaziah was of Merarite descent; but is wrong in making Jaaziah an immediate son of Merari, parallel with the famous Mahli and Mushi. Hence the following word *Beno* (lit. *his son*) should probably be struck out as an erroneous gloss (see also ver. 27).

sons of Jaaziah; Beno. The sons of Merari; of Jaaziah, 27
Beno, and Shoham, and Zaccur, and Ibri. Of Mahli; 28
Eleazar, who had no sons. Of Kish; the sons of Kish, 29
Jerahmeel. And the sons of Mushi; Mahli, and Eder, 30
and Jerimoth. These were the sons of the Levites after
their fathers' houses. These likewise cast lots even as their 31
brethren the sons of Aaron in the presence of David the
king, and Zadok, and Ahimelech, and the heads of the
fathers' *houses* of the priests and of the Levites; the fathers'
houses of the chief even as those of his younger brother.

Moreover David and the captains of the host separated 25
for the service certain of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman,
and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with

of Jaaziah; Beno] Either delete *Beno* (see previous note) or perhaps read *Bani*.

28. *Eleazar*] Cp. xxiii. 22.

30. *Jerimoth*] Spelt "Jeremoth" in xxiii. 23.

These were...houses] = xxiii. 24*a*.

31. *and Ahimelech*] We expect *and Abiathar*; cp. ver. 3, xv. 11, xviii. 16, with the notes.

Ch. XXV. 1—7. The Families of the Singers.

The Chronicler displays so much interest in the liturgical worship of the Temple that it is very probable that he was himself a member of the musical guilds. There is no reason to question the importance of the musicians in the Temple worship of the late post-exilic period. But the development of their organisation and duties was certainly a gradual process, and did not, as the Chronicler here represents, spring into being, full-grown, in the days of David. Three classes—the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (= Ethan) had come to be clearly recognised. They are here regarded as divided into twenty-four courses (like the Levites and Priests), but that this even in the Chronicler's time represents not an actuality but an ideal is suggested by the artificial character of the names which conclude the list—see ver. 4, note on *Hananiah*.

1. *Moreover David*] Render, **And David.**

separated] Cp. xxiii. 13, note.

who should prophesy] i.e. sing and praise in the manner of the prophets, cp. 1 Sam. x. 5. There is no reference to the predictive power or the higher spiritual activities of the great prophets. Nevertheless the term serves, and is intended, to invest the office of the musicians with a greater honour than that of the ministrant Levites.

psalteries, and with cymbals: and the number of them
2 that did the work according to their service was: of the
sons of Asaph; Zaccur, and Joseph, and Nethaniah, and
[1]Asharelah, the sons of Asaph; under the hand of Asaph,
3 who prophesied [2]after the order of the king. Of Jeduthun:
the sons of Jeduthun; Gedaliah, and [3]Zeri, and Jeshaiah,
Hashabiah, and Mattithiah, [4]six; under the hands of their
father Jeduthun with the harp, who prophesied in giving
4 thanks and praising the LORD. Of Heman: the sons of
Heman; Bukkiah, Mattaniah, [5]Uzziel, [6]Shebuel, and Jerimoth,
Hananiah, Hanani, Eliathah, Giddalti, and Romamti-ezer,

[1] In ver. 14, *Jesharelah*.
[2] Heb. *by the hands of the king*.
[3] In ver. 11, *Izri*.
[4] With Shimei, mentioned in ver. 17.
[5] In ver. 18, *Azarel*.
[6] In ver. 20, *Shubael*.

psalteries] See xiii. 8, note.

2. *Asaph*] See xv. 17, note.

Asharelah] In ver. 14, "Jesharelah."

after the order] All was done according to the order established by king David.

3. *Jeduthun*] See xvi. 41, note.

Zeri] read as in ver. 11, **Izri.**

Jeshaiah] After Jeshaiah LXX. B inserts the name "Shimei" (Σεμεεί), no doubt rightly for (1) six sons are reckoned in this verse, (2) the "Shimei" of ver. 17 is otherwise unmentioned in vv. 2—4, though his twenty-three companions are named.

4. *Heman*] See xv. 17, note.

Uzziel] In ver. 18, "Azarel." The variation between the two words when written with Hebrew consonants is small. Cp. note on 2 Chr. xxvi. 1 ("Uzziah" and "Azariah").

Shebuel] In ver. 20, "Shubael."

Jerimoth] In ver. 22, "Jeremoth."

Hananiah, Hanani] *Hananiah*, which signifies "Jehovah (Jah) is gracious," and *Hanani* (probably a contraction of *Hananiah*) are names found not infrequently in the O.T.; but the following seven words are practically impossible as proper names, and the nine words together, with some easy alterations, actually form a poetical petition, which may be rendered thus:

"Be gracious unto me, O God; be gracious unto me!
Thou art my God.
Thou hast magnified and exalted help for him that sat in distress.
Thou hast given visions abundantly."

What explanation can be offered of this startling fact? It may be that the names are wholly artificial, invented by the Chronicler to fill out the desired twenty-four courses (see the head-note above), but the

Joshbekashah, Mallothi, Hothir, Mahazioth: all these were 5
the sons of Heman the king's seer in the words of God, to
lift up the horn. And God gave to Heman fourteen sons
and three daughters. All these were under the hands of 6
their father for song in the house of the LORD, with cymbals,
psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God;
[1]Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman being under the order of the
king. And the number of them, with their brethren that 7
were instructed in singing unto the LORD, even all that
were skilful, was two hundred fourscore and eight. And 8
they cast lots [2]for their charges, all alike, as well the small
as the great, the teacher as the scholar. Now the first lot 9

[1] Or, *after the order of the king*, even *Asaph &c.* [2] Or, *ward against* ward, *as well &c.*

device is clumsy and the Chronicler was not likely to be bankrupt for names. Perhaps by a curious chance the original names bore some *slight* resemblance to a sentence such as the above, and the resemblance has at some time been perfected by a fanciful scribe.

5. *the king's seer*] This title is given to Gad in xxi. 9, and to Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, all three in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15 (LXX. not Heb.).

in the words of God] The exact meaning of this is uncertain; it may either mean "in Divine things" (i.e. arrangements for worship), or "by Divine appointment" (cp. 2 Chr. xxix. 15 "by the words of the LORD").

to lift up the horn] i.e. to make loud blasts upon the horn; but a slightly different division of the Heb. consonants should probably be made and the phrase connected with the following verse. Render therefore, **To lift up his horn** (i.e. to increase his power) **God gave to Heman**, etc.

fourteen sons] Corresponding with the fourteen names given in ver. 4.

7. *two hundred fourscore and eight*] The number corresponds with the twenty-four courses of twelve members each about to be enumerated.

8—31. THE ALLOTMENT OF THE COURSES.

8. *for their charges, all alike*] *charges*, i.e. duties. The Heb. text is faulty, but the R.V. rendering probably represents the right reading.

the teacher as the scholar] LXX. τελείων καὶ μανθανόντων (i.e. *the initiated and the learners*). For a similar inclusive phrase cp. the Arabic "he that giveth to hear and he that heareth," and see further references in Driver, Deuteronomy (*I. C. C.*), p. 376. Instead of "the teacher" we may render "the skilful" as in ver. 7; the Heb. word is the same. It is to be noted that we have here twenty-four courses of singers corresponding with the twenty-four courses of the priests.

came forth for Asaph to Joseph: the second to Gedaliah;
10 he and his brethren and sons were twelve: the third to
11 Zaccur, his sons and his brethren, twelve: the fourth to Izri,
12 his sons and his brethren, twelve: the fifth to Nethaniah,
13 his sons and his brethren, twelve: the sixth to Bukkiah, his
14 sons and his brethren, twelve: the seventh to Jesharelah,
15 his sons and his brethren, twelve: the eighth to Jeshaiah,
16 his sons and his brethren, twelve: the ninth to Mattaniah,
17 his sons and his brethren, twelve: the tenth to Shimei, his
18 sons and his brethren, twelve: the eleventh to Azarel, his
19 sons and his brethren, twelve: the twelfth to Hashabiah,
20 his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the thirteenth,
21 Shubael, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the four-
22 teenth, Mattithiah, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for
the fifteenth to Jeremoth, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
23 for the sixteenth to Hananiah, his sons and his brethren,
24 twelve: for the seventeenth to Joshbekashah, his sons and
25 his brethren, twelve: for the eighteenth to Hanani, his sons
26 and his brethren, twelve: for the nineteenth to Mallothi,
27 his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the twentieth to
28 Eliathah, his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the one
and twentieth to Hothir, his sons and his brethren, twelve:
29 for the two and twentieth to Giddalti, his sons and his
30 brethren, twelve: for the three and twentieth to Mahazioth,
31 his sons and his brethren, twelve: for the four and twentieth
to Romamti-ezer, his sons and his brethren, twelve.

9. *for Asaph*] A comparison of vv. 9—31 with vv. 2—4 shows that the first, third, fifth and seventh lots fell to Asaph, the second, fourth, eighth, tenth, twelfth and fourteenth to Jeduthun, and the rest (fourteen in number) to Heman.

11. *Izri*] See note on *Zeri*, ver. 3.

14. *Jesharelah*] Cp. ver. 2.

17. *Shimei*] Not mentioned in the present text of vv. 2—4; see note on *Jeshaiah*, ver. 3.

18. *Azarel*] Called *Uzziel*, ver. 4.

20. *Shubael*] Called *Shebuel*, ver. 4.

22. *Jeremoth*] Called *Jerimoth*, ver. 4.

For the courses of the doorkeepers: of the Korahites; 26
[1]Meshelemiah the son of Kore, of the sons of [2]Asaph. And 2
Meshelemiah had sons; Zechariah the firstborn, Jediael
the second, Zebadiah the third, Jathniel the fourth; Elam 3
the fifth, Jehohanan the sixth, Eliehoenai the seventh. And 4
Obed-edom had sons; Shemaiah the firstborn, Jehozabad
the second, Joah the third, and Sacar the fourth, and
Nethanel the fifth; Ammiel the sixth, Issachar the seventh, 5
Peullethai the eighth: for God blessed him. Also unto 6
Shemaiah his son were sons born, that ruled over the house
of their father: for they were mighty men of valour. The 7
sons of Shemaiah; Othni, and Rephael, and Obed, Elzabad,
whose brethren were valiant men, Elihu, and Semachiah.
All these were of the sons of Obed-edom: they and their 8
sons and their brethren, able men in strength for the service;
threescore and two of Obed-edom. And Meshelemiah had 9
sons and brethren, valiant men, eighteen. Also Hosah, of 10
the children of Merari, had sons; Shimri the chief, (for

[1] In ver. 14, *Shelemiah*. [2] In ch. ix. 19, *Ebiasaph*.

CH. XXVI. **1—12** (cp. ix. 17—27). THE COURSES OF THE DOORKEEPERS.

1. *Meshelemiah*, etc.] For the names of the doorkeepers see notes on ix. 17 ff.

of the sons of Asaph] For *Asaph* read **Ebiasaph**, as in ix. 19.

3. *Eliehoenai*] The form differs from that in iii. 23, but has the same meaning, viz., "Mine eyes are towards Jehovah."

4. *Obed-edom*] For *Obed-edom* see xiii. 13, note.

5. *for God blessed him*] "him" refers to "Obed-edom" (ver. 4), who was blessed with eight sons. It seems likely that the phrase "God blessed him" is intended to be a reminiscence of xiii. 14 and indicates that the Levitical Obed-edom was strangely identified by tradition with Obed-edom the Gittite in whose house the Ark was temporarily left by David (xiii. 13). For other references to Obed-edom as one of the doorkeepers, see xv. 18, 24, xvi. 38. On the other hand he is classed as a singer in xv. 21, xvi. 5, passages which are probably additions to the original text of Chronicles, or at any rate represent later or divergent tradition.

7. *whose brethren*] The pronoun refers to Elzabad.

9. *Meshelemiah*] Cp. vv. 1—3 to which ver. 9 is a supplement.

10. *Hosah*] He is mentioned as a doorkeeper along with Obed-edom in xvi. 38.

though he was not the firstborn, yet his father made him
11 chief;) Hilkiah the second, Tebaliah the third, Zechariah
the fourth: all the sons and brethren of Hosah were thirteen.
12 Of these were the courses of the doorkeepers, even of the
chief men, having [1]charges like as their brethren, to minister
13 in the house of the LORD. And they cast lots, as well the
small as the great, according to their fathers' houses, for
14 every gate. And the lot eastward fell to [2]Shelemiah. Then
for Zechariah his son, a discreet counsellor, they cast lots;
15 and his lot came out northward. To Obed-edom southward;
16 and to his sons the storehouse. To Shuppim and Hosah
westward, by the gate of [3]Shallecheth, at the causeway that
17 goeth up, ward against ward. Eastward were six Levites,

[1] Or, *wards over against their brethren* [2] In ver. 1, *Meshelemiah*.
[3] That is, *Casting forth*.

12. *Of these...even of the chief men*] In vv. 8, 9, 11 taken together ninety-three doorkeepers are enumerated, who are presumably the heads of the four thousand mentioned in xxiii. 5. In ix. 22 again the total number (as it seems) of doorkeepers is given as two hundred and twelve. The discrepancy may be due to the Chronicler having used different documents belonging to different dates: for other possibilities see note on ix. 22.

13—19 (cp. ix. 23—26). THE STATIONS OF THE DOORKEEPERS.

Remark how naïvely the Chronicler names various parts of the Temple as if it had been already in existence at this time.

14. *Shelemiah*] i.e. Meshelemiah, vv. 1, 2.

16. *To Shuppim and Hosah*] Read, **To Hosah**. The word "Shuppim" should be omitted from the text. It is merely an accidental repetition (in a corrupt form) of the last word in ver. 15, namely "Asuppim," rendered *storehouse*.

by the gate of Shallecheth] There is no other mention in the Bible of a gate "Shallecheth," but it is perhaps to be identified with "the entering in of the house of the LORD...which was in the precincts" ("Parvārim" *Heb.*) mentioned 2 Kin. xxiii. 11; cp. note on ver. 18. Possibly the text should be corrected and we should read, following the LXX., "by the gate of the chamber."

at the causeway that goeth up] "The causeway" led up to the Temple *either* from Ophel (on the S.) *or* from the Western City (across the Tyropœon Valley). Traces of two causeways have been discovered by excavation, viz., "Wilson's Arch" (Baedeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 65) and "Robinson's Arch" (*ib.* p. 66). The second of these arches probably marks the site of a causeway belonging to the period of the Kings.

northward four a day, southward four a day, and for the storehouse two and two. For [1]Parbar westward, four at 18
the causeway, and two at [1]Parbar. These were the courses 19
of the doorkeepers; of the sons of the Korahites, and of the sons of Merari.

[2]And of the Levites, Ahijah was over the treasuries of the 20
house of God, and over the treasuries of the [3]dedicated things. The sons of [4]Ladan; the sons of the Gershonites 21
belonging to Ladan, the heads of the fathers' *houses* belonging to Ladan the Gershonite; [5]Jehieli. The sons of Jehieli; 22
Zetham, and Joel his brother, over the treasuries of the house of the LORD. Of the Amramites, of the Izharites, 23
of the Hebronites, of the Uzzielites: and Shebuel the son 24
of Gershom, the son of Moses, was ruler over the treasuries. And his brethren; of Eliezer *came* Rehabiah his son, and 25
Jeshaiah his son, and Joram his son, and Zichri his son, and Shelomoth his son. This Shelomoth and his brethren 26
were over all the treasuries of the dedicated things, which

[1] Or, *the Precinct* [2] According to the Sept., *And the Levites their brethren were over &c.* [3] Heb. *holy things.* [4] In ch. vi. 17, *Libni.* [5] In ch. xxiii. 8, *Jehiel.*

18. *Parbar*] This word, apparently the same as *parvarim*, 2 Kin. xxiii. 11 (R.V. "precincts"; cp. mg. here), seems to denote some building built on the Temple area on the west side. It may have been a colonnade. The word is Persian and means "lighted [by the sun]."

20—32. VARIOUS OFFICERS.

20. *And of the Levites, Ahijah was over*] Read (with LXX.; cp. mg.), **And the Levites their brethren were over.** The confusion of readings is easy in Hebrew; cp. ii. 25 for a similar case.

the dedicated things] Cp. vv. 26—28.

21. *Ladan*] cp. xxiii. 7; called Libni in vi. 17 [2, Heb.].

Jehieli] Read **Jehiel** as in xxiii. 8, xxix 8; and probably delete the following "*The sons of Jehieli*," cp. xxiii. 8.

22. *Zetham, and Joel*] These appear as brethren of Jehiel in xxiii. 8; but since families, not individuals, are spoken of, the discrepancy is not important.

23. *the Amramites*, etc.] Cp. xxiii. 12.

24. *Shebuel*] rather Shubael, as in xxiv. 20; cp. xxiii. 16.

25. *of Eliezer came Rehabiah*] Cp. xxiii. 15—17, xxiv. 21.

Shelomoth] (so *Kethīb*); A.V. *Shelomith* follows *Ḳerī*; cp. ver. 28 (mg.).

David the king, and the heads of the fathers' *houses*, the captains over thousands and hundreds, and the captains
27 of the host, had dedicated. [1]Out of the spoil won in battles
28 did they dedicate to repair the house of the LORD. And all that Samuel the seer, and Saul the son of Kish, and Abner the son of Ner, and Joab the son of Zeruiah, had dedicated; whosoever had dedicated any thing, it was under
29 the hand of [2]Shelomoth, and of his brethren. Of the Izharites, Chenaniah and his sons were for the outward business over
30 Israel, for officers and judges. Of the Hebronites, Hashabiah and his brethren, men of valour, a thousand and seven hundred, had the oversight of Israel beyond Jordan westward; for all the business of the LORD, and for the service of the
31 king. Of the Hebronites was Jerijah the chief, even of the Hebronites, according to their generations by fathers' *houses*. In the fortieth year of the reign of David they were sought for, and there were found among them mighty men of valour
32 at Jazer of Gilead. And his brethren, men of valour, were two thousand and seven hundred, heads of fathers' *houses*, whom king David made overseers over the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of the Manassites, for every matter pertaining to God, and for the affairs of the king.

[1] Heb. *Out of the battles and the spoil.* [2] Heb. *Shelomith.*

26. *David the king*] Cp. xviii. 11.

29. *Izharites*] Cp. xxiii. 12.

the outward business] This business is here expressly defined as work "for officers and judges," as compared with the duties of maintaining the worship of the Temple and the construction or repair of the fabric (cp. xxiii. 4; 2 Chr. xix. 11; Neh. xi. 16).

30. *the Hebronites*] Cp. xxiii. 12.

had the oversight of Israel] How their duties were related to those of Chenaniah and his sons (ver. 29) is not made clear.

beyond Jordan westward] Cp. Josh. xxii. 7, R.V. Western Palestine is meant.

31. *Jerijah*] called *Jeriah* (Heb. *Jerijahu*) in xxiii. 19.

at Jazer] Cp. vi. 81 (vi. 66, Heb.); Num. xxi. 32, R.V. The Eastern Hebronites were given office east of Jordan; cp. ver. 32.

32. *his brethren*] i.e. the brethren of Jerijah. It is remarkable that their number should be given as 2700 for the two and a half tribes, whereas the overseers for the nine and a half tribes west of Jordan are said to number only 1700. Curtis sees in this a hint of the importance of Gilead in the Chronicler's period (cp. 1 Macc. v. 45).

Now the children of Israel after their number, *to wit*, the 27
heads of fathers' *houses* and the captains of thousands and
of hundreds, and their officers that served the king, in any
matter of the courses which came in and went out month
by month throughout all the months of the year, of every
course were twenty and four thousand. Over the first course 2
for the first month was Jashobeam the son of Zabdiel: and
in his course were twenty and four thousand. *He was* of 3
the children of Perez, the chief of all the captains of the
host for the first month. And over the course of the second 4
month was Dodai the Ahohite, and his course; and Mikloth
the ruler: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
The third captain of the host for the third month was Benaiah, 5
the son of Jehoiada the [1]priest, chief: and in his course were
twenty and four thousand. This is that Benaiah, who was 6

[1] Or, *chief minister* See 2 Sam. viii. 18.

Ch. XXVII. The Organisation of the Military and Civil Officials.

1—15. The divisions of the Army by Courses.

It is in keeping with the plan and spirit of the Chronicler that he should not fail to ascribe to David, who for all his piety was preeminently the warrior-king, the organisation on an immense scale of the military and civil forces of the land. In monthly "courses" the king is here said to be attended by officers and soldiers totalling 288,000 men! The enumeration of David's "mighty men" in ch. xi. 10 ff. is an utterly insufficient reason for supposing that the present chapter cannot also come from the Chronicler. It is suitable to his narrative, characteristic of his style, and, if further evidence be needed, it may be found in the tone of the references to the civil and military authorities in xxii. 17; xxiii. 2; xxviii. 1 ff., 21; xxix. 6 ff.

1. *came in and went out*] Came on duty and went off duty; cp. 2 Chr. xxiii. 8.

2. *Jashobeam*] Cp. xi. 11, note.

3. *Perez*] For Perez, see ii. 4, 5.

4. *Dodai the Ahohite*] Read probably (cp. xi. 12), "Eleazar the son of Dodo, the Ahohite."

and his course; and Mikloth the ruler] The words are corrupt and are omitted in the LXX. The original text is quite uncertain. A Benjamite called Mikloth is mentioned in viii. 32.

5. *Benaiah*] Cp. xi. 22 ff., xviii. 17.

Jehoiada the priest, chief] "chief" refers to Benaiah.

the mighty man of the thirty, and over the thirty: and *of*
7 his course was Ammizabad his son. The fourth *captain* for
the fourth month was Asahel the brother of Joab, and
Zebadiah his son after him: and in his course were twenty
8 and four thousand. The fifth captain for the fifth month
was Shamhuth the Izrahite: and in his course were twenty
9 and four thousand. The sixth *captain* for the sixth month
was Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite: and in his course
10 were twenty and four thousand. The seventh *captain* for
the seventh month was Helez the Pelonite, of the children
of Ephraim: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
11 The eighth *captain* for the eighth month was Sibbecai the
Hushathite, of the Zerahites: and in his course were twenty
12 and four thousand. The ninth *captain* for the ninth month
was Abiezer the Anathothite, of the Benjamites: and in his
13 course were twenty and four thousand. The tenth *captain*
for the tenth month was Maharai the Netophathite, of the
Zerahites: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.
14 The eleventh *captain* for the eleventh month was Benaiah
the Pirathonite, of the children of Ephraim: and in his
15 course were twenty and four thousand. The twelfth *captain*
for the twelfth month was [1]Heldai the Netophathite, of
Othniel: and in his course were twenty and four thousand.

[1] In ch. xi. 30, *Heled*.

6. *the mighty man of the thirty, and over the thirty*] Cp. xi. 25.

7. *Asahel*] Cp. xi. 26, note.

8. *Shamhuth the Izrahite*] Perhaps to be identified with "Shammoth the Harorite" of xi. 27; see note there.

9. *Ira*] Cp. xi. 28.

10. *Helez the Pelonite*] Cp. xi. 27, note.

11. *Sibbecai the Hushathite*] Cp. xi. 29, notes.

Zerahites] (also ver. 13). Descendants of Zerah, son of Judah; ii. 4.

12. *Abiezer the Anathothite*] Cp. xi. 28.

13. *Maharai the Netophathite*] Cp. xi. 30.

14. *Benaiah the Pirathonite*] Cp. xi. 31.

15. *Heldai*] Called *Heled* in xi. 30.

of Othniel] Cp. Judg. i. 13, iii. 9. Thus Heldai was not of pure Israelite descent, but belonged to the Kenizzites (Kenaz), a younger branch of the Calebites, an independent tribe which settled primarily in southern Judah and was later incorporated in the tribe of Judah. Genealogically this fact was expressed by calling Caleb a son of Hezron, the son of Judah. See the article *Caleb* in *Ency. Brit.*[11].

Furthermore over the tribes of Israel: of the Reubenites 16
was Eliezer the son of Zichri the ruler: of the Simeonites,
Shephatiah the son of Maacah: of Levi, Hashabiah the son 17
of Kemuel: of Aaron, Zadok: of Judah, [1]Elihu, one of the 18
brethren of David: of Issachar, Omri the son of Michael:
of Zebulun, Ishmaiah the son of Obadiah: of Naphtali, 19
Jeremoth the son of Azriel: of the children of Ephraim, 20
Hoshea the son of Azaziah: of the half tribe of Manasseh,
Joel the son of Pedaiah: of the half *tribe* of Manasseh in 21
Gilead, Iddo the son of Zechariah: of Benjamin, Jaasiel the
son of Abner: of Dan, Azarel the son of Jeroham. These 22
were the captains of the tribes of Israel. But David took 23
not the number of them from twenty years old and under:
because the LORD had said he would increase Israel like to

[1] In 1 Sam. xvi. 6, *Eliab*.

16—24. THE PRINCES OF THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL.

Six tribes which were accounted "sons" of Leah are given first, then six "sons," actual or legal, of Rachel; whilst Zadok as chief of the priestly caste may be reckoned as standing in a category by himself, representative of the nation as a whole. Gad and Asher are omitted, for some reason not easy to discern, perhaps accidentally or because the traditional number of "twelve" tribes was complete in this list without them.

17. *Hashabiah*] Perhaps the person mentioned in xxvi. 30. The name is common among Levites.

of Aaron, Zadok] Cp. xii. 27, 28.

18. *Elihu*] Perhaps the "Eliab" of 1 Sam. xvi. 6; cp. mg.

21. *Gilead*] "Gilead" is strictly speaking the name of the district between the Jabbok and Moab, in which the tribes of Gad and Reuben dwelt. Here it is used less precisely to include Bashan, the district N.E. of Jordan in which the half tribe of Manasseh lived: cp. ii. 22, note.

Iddo] Spelt quite differently in Heb. from the name of the father of the prophet Zechariah (Zech. i. 1).

Abner] 1 Sam. xiv. 50, 51.

23. *took not the number*] In Num. i. 3 ff. it is said that in the census which God commanded Moses to take in the wilderness only those above twenty years old were to be numbered, and a chief from each tribe was appointed to assist Moses in the task of numeration. The Chronicler in this section wishes to say that, though David erred in taking the census unbidden by Jehovah, he at least conformed to the principles of the Law in carrying out his project: those under 20 years of age were not counted, and the princes just enumerated may be supposed to correspond to the chiefs who assisted Moses.

24 the stars of heaven. Joab the son of Zeruiah began to number, but finished not; and there came wrath for this upon Israel; neither was the number put into the account in the chronicles of king David.

25 And over the king's treasuries was Azmaveth the son of Adiel: and over the treasuries in the fields, in the cities, and in the villages, and in the castles, was Jonathan
26 the son of Uzziah: and over them that did the work of the field for tillage of the ground was Ezri the son of
27 Chelub: and over the vineyards was Shimei the Ramathite: and over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars
28 was Zabdi the Shiphmite: and over the olive trees and the sycomore trees that were in the lowland was Baal-hanan the
29 Gederite: and over the cellars of oil was Joash: and over the herds that fed in Sharon was Shitrai the Sharonite: and

24. *but finished not*] Cp. xxi. 6.

into the account in] A summary of the numbers of David's census is given in xxi. 5 and also (with divergences) in 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. The Chronicler probably means in the present passage that the details of the census were not entered in the official records.

the chronicles] Lit. *the acts of the days*; cp. Introduction, § 5.

25—31. VARIOUS OFFICERS OF THE KING.

Twelve different officers are named here who acted as stewards of king David's property.

25. *castles*] Lit. *towers*; cp. 2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4.

27. *the Ramathite*] The well-known Ramah was in Benjamin, but there was also a Ramah (or Ramoth) of the South (Josh. xix. 8; 1 Sam. xxx. 27) from which the epithet "Ramathite" might be derived.

the Shiphmite] The adjective is probably derived from "Siphmoth" (1 Sam. xxx. 28), the name of a place in the south of Judah. If so, we should read either "Siphmite" here, or "Shiphmoth" in 1 Sam.

28. *sycomore*] The fig-mulberry, a tree having leaves like mulberry-leaves, and bearing a fruit resembling figs. Cp. 2 Chr. i. 15; Amos vii. 14.

in the lowland] Heb. *Shephelah*. See note on 2 Chr. i. 15 ("vale").

Gederite] i e. inhabitant of "Geder" (Josh. xii. 13), perhaps another form of "Gederah" (*ib.* xv. 36). A place in the south of Judah is intended in any case. See note on xii. 4.

29. *Sharon*] The great maritime plain bounded on the east by the "lowland" (Shephelah). "The valleys" would probably be the depressions among the hills of the Shephelah which open out into Sharon; cp. Cant. ii. 1.

over the herds that were in the valleys was Shaphat the son of Adlai: and over the camels was Obil the Ishmaelite: 30
and over the asses was Jehdeiah the Meronothite: and 31
over the flocks was Jaziz the Hagrite. All these were the rulers of the substance which was king David's.

Also Jonathan David's [1]uncle was a counsellor, a man 32
of understanding, and a scribe: and Jehiel the son of Hachmoni was with the king's sons: and Ahithophel was 33
the king's counsellor: and Hushai the Archite was the

[1] Or, *brother's son*

30. *Obil*] The name is a form of the Arabic word *ābil*, "one who feeds camels."

the Meronothite] *Meronoth* was perhaps near Gibeon and Mizpah; cp. Neh. iii. 7.

31. *Hagrite*] Cp. v. 10.

32—34 (cp. xviii. 15—17 = 2 Sam. viii. 16—18; cp. *ib.* xx. 23—26).

DAVID'S OFFICERS AT COURT.

32. *Jonathan David's uncle*] The name Jonathan is common in Heb., but no uncle of David is elsewhere mentioned. A "Jonathan, son of Shimea," David's brother, is referred to in xx. 7 (= 2 Sam. xxi. 21), and many scholars in consequence prefer to follow the mg. and render **Jonathan, David's brother's son.** Curtis renders **David's lover**, taking the reference to be to Jonathan, Saul's son, who as the friend of David's youth might be spoken of as his first "counsellor." This view seems improbable but is not impossible, despite the phrase "*and a scribe*" which could not possibly be said of Saul's warrior son. There is some evidence that those words are a gloss, and it is true that the list is not one of living men only (cp. Ahithophel), whilst finally the Chronicler might well be tempted to drag in an allusion to a relationship so well-known and so creditable to David.

a scribe] Not the chief scribe; cp. xviii. 16, note.

with the king's sons] As tutor; cp. 2 Kin. x. 6.

33. *Ahithophel*] See 2 Sam. xv. 31; xvi. 20—xvii. 23.

Hushai] See 2 Sam. xv. 32—37, xvi. 16—19, xvii. 5—16.

Archite] The "border of the Archites" was near Bethel (Jos. xvi. 2). The word has no connection with the "Arkite" of i. 15.

king's friend] Cp. 2 Sam. xvi. 16. "Special titles served to signify the degree of rank the great men held with respect to the king [of Egypt]. In old times the most important were *the friend* and *the well-beloved friend* of the king" (Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, Eng. Tr. p. 72). The Greek kings of Syria granted similar titles to their chief dependents; cp. 1 Macc. ii. 18 (R.V. with marg.), "thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's Friends."

34 king's friend: and after Ahithophel was Jehoiada the son
of Benaiah, and Abiathar: and the captain of the king's
host was Joab.

28 And David assembled all the princes of Israel, the
princes of the tribes, and the captains of the companies

34. *after Ahithophel*] Cp. ver. 33.

Jehoiada the son of Benaiah] Either we must read, "Benaiah the son of Jehoiada" (cp. xviii. 17), or we must assume that a person known only from this passage is meant.

and Abiathar] Possibly such a phrase as "And Zadok and Abiathar were priests" (cp. 2 Sam. xx. 25) originally stood here.

CHAPTERS XXVIII, XXIX. DAVID'S FAREWELL SPEECH.

CH. XXVIII. 1—8 (cp. xxii. 17—19). HIS CHARGE TO THE CHIEF MEN OF ISRAEL CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

The glorious reign now reaches a fitting climax. David summons the assembly of all the princes and commanders of Israel, and, in the presence of the heir to the throne, addresses them in a final oration. He recounts his Divine election and rule over Israel and the promise that the same Divine Power will be with Solomon his son (xxviii. 1—10). Then, handing over to Solomon the inspired plans for the Temple (11—21), and briefly describing the treasures he has amassed for its enrichment (xxix. 1—5) he appeals to the liberality of the people and is met by a magnificent response (6—9). Finally, in a prayer of fine humility and faith (10—20), he commends his son and his people to the eternal and all-powerful God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. How immense the contrast between this and the pathetically real picture of the closing days of David portrayed in 1 Kin. i., ii. 1—11! There the dying monarch is seen, exhausted in mind and body, surrounded by the intrigues of an Eastern palace. With a last flicker of his strength, he rouses himself to secure the succession of Solomon by firm but ruthless orders against the leaders of the opposing faction. Whilst the narrative in Kings is indispensable to us in preserving some record of the actual history of the last days of David, Chron. is also of great value in its own way as a religious interpretation of history (Introd. pp. liii, lv). Rightly understood, this farewell speech is in many respects a noble and inspiring passage of Scripture: so *ought* a perfect reign to end. Here David dies, leaving his country peaceful, powerful, and contented. He dies believing that his people's true prosperity is in its zeal for the worship of God; and for that end, with the popular approval, he has made marvellous preparation. And lastly he dies, in no vain-glorious spirit, but conscious of the littleness of man and the majesty of God, and in humble dependence on the continuance of Grace.

1. *the princes of the tribes*] Cp. xxvii. 16—22.

that served the king by course, and the captains of thousands, and the captains of hundreds, and the rulers over all the substance and [1]possessions of the king and of his sons, with the [2]officers. and the mighty men, even all the mighty men of valour, unto Jerusalem. Then David the king stood up 2 upon his feet, and said, Hear me, my brethren, and my people: as for me, it was in mine heart to build an house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and for the footstool of our God; and I had made ready for the building. But God said unto me, Thou shalt not build an house for 3 my name, because thou art a man of war, and hast shed blood. Howbeit the LORD, the God of Israel, chose me 4 out of all the house of my father to be king over Israel for ever: for he hath chosen Judah to be [3]prince; and in the house of Judah, the house of my father; and among the sons of my father he took pleasure in me to make me king over all Israel: and of all my sons, (for the LORD hath given 5 me many sons,) he hath chosen Solomon my son to sit upon

[1] Or, *cattle* [2] Or, *eunuchs* [3] Or, *leader*

the captains of the companies] See xxvii. 1—15.

the rulers] See xxvii. 25—31.

officers] mg. *eunuchs*; the earlier authorities however for David's reign (in the books of Samuel) do not mention such persons; and they were perhaps introduced into the Israelite court at a later time. Yet cp. 1 Sam. viii. 15.

2. *stood up upon his feet*] Kings sometimes made orations sitting; cp. Acts xii. 21. Here the king stands to mark the greatness of the occasion.

my brethren] The king is the *brother* of his subjects; Deut. xvii. 15, 20; cp. Ps. xlv. 7.

it was in mine heart] See xvii. 1; 2 Sam. vii. 2.

an house of rest] Cp. xvii. 5; 2 Sam. vii. 6.

the footstool] Cp. Is. lx. 13.

3. *thou art a man of war*] See note on xxii. 8.

4. *out of all the house*] See 1 Sam. xvi. 1—13.

king...for ever] i.e. the kingdom is to abide with David and his descendants. That the promise, however, was not to be interpreted as independent of moral conditions, see below ver. 9 *ad fin.*

5. *many sons*] Cp. iii. 1—9.

he hath chosen Solomon] The earlier histories (*Samuel—Kings*) do not thus speak of God choosing Solomon as David's successor; but cp. 2 Sam. xii. 24, 25; 1 Kin. i. 11—14.

6 the throne of the kingdom of the LORD over Israel. And
he said unto me, Solomon thy son, he shall build my house
and my courts: for I have chosen him to be my son, and
7 I will be his father. And I will establish his kingdom for
ever, if he be constant to do my commandments and my
8 judgements, as at this day. Now therefore, in the sight
of all Israel, the congregation of the LORD, and in the
audience of our God, observe and seek out all the com-
mandments of the LORD your God: that ye may possess
this good land, and leave it for an inheritance to your
9 children after you for ever. And thou, Solomon my son,
know thou the God of thy father, and serve him with a
perfect heart and with a willing mind: for the LORD
searcheth all hearts, and understandeth all the imaginations
of the thoughts: if thou seek him, he will be found of thee;
10 but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever. Take
heed now; for the LORD hath chosen thee to build an
house for the sanctuary: be strong, and do it.

the throne of the kingdom of the LORD] Cp. xxix. 23, *the throne of the LORD*. The Chronicler regards the king as the deputy of Jehovah.

6. *he shall build my house*] Cp. xxii. 10.

7. *And I will establish*] Cp. xvii. 11.

if he be constant] Lit. *if he be strong*; cp. vv. 10, 20, *be strong* (same word in Heb.). Cp. 1 Kin. ix. 4, 5.

8. *and seek out*] The same Hebrew word is used in xiii. 3, *we sought not unto it* (i.e. the Ark) *in the days of Saul*.

that ye may possess this good land] *possess*=*inherit*. The Heb. word connotes *three* different ideas, which may all have been present to the mind of the speaker, viz. (1) continued holding of the land by passing it from father to son (cp. Ex. xx. 12), (2) completion of the work of conquest left unfinished by Joshua (cp. Gen. xxiv. 60), (3) enjoyment of the fruits of the land (cp. Ps. xxv. 13).

9—21. DAVID'S CHARGE TO SOLOMON.

9. *know thou the God of thy father*] For this use of *know* cp. Ex. v. 2; Is. i. 3; Jer. xxxi. 34.

with a perfect heart] i.e. with a *single, undivided heart*; cp. xii. 33 "they were not of double heart." In 2 Chr. xv. 17 the heart of king Asa is described as *perfect*, because he took no part in the idolatrous practices which prevailed in his day. Faithfulness to Jehovah, not moral perfection, is implied in phrases of this kind.

the LORD searcheth] Cp. Ezekiel's vision of the Lord's detection of secret idolatry (Ezek. viii.).

10. *hath chosen thee*] See on ver. 5.

Then David gave to Solomon his son the pattern of the 11
porch *of the temple*, and of the houses thereof, and of the
treasuries thereof, and of the upper rooms thereof, and
of the inner chambers thereof, and of the [1]place of the
mercy-seat: and the pattern of all that he had [2]by the spirit, 12
for the courts of the house of the LORD, and for all the
chambers round about, for the treasuries of the house of
God, and for the treasuries of the dedicated things: also 13
for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all
the work of the service of the house of the LORD, and for
all the vessels of service in the house of the LORD: of gold 14
by weight for the *vessels of* gold, for all vessels of every kind

[1] Heb. *house.* [2] Or, *in his spirit*

11. *the pattern*] Cp. ver. 12; Ex. xxv. 9. The Temple, like the tabernacle, was to be constructed according to a pattern or model communicated by inspiration (see ver. 19). A verbal description rather than a drawing is meant.

the porch] Cp. 2 Chr. iii. 4; 1 Kin. vi. 3.

the houses thereof] Cp. 2 Chr. xxxiv. 11. "Thereof" of course refers to the Temple as a whole, and by "houses" we must understand the various portions of the building.

the treasuries] A different Hebrew word from that used in ver. 12. The inner treasuries mentioned here were for treasure; the outer treasuries (ver. 12) were perhaps rather store-chambers.

upper rooms] Cp. 2 Chr. iii. 9; and 1 Kin. vi. 6 (where however the Heb. word is different).

the place of the mercy-seat] The Holy of Holies.

12. *that he had by the spirit*] i.e. that had come to him by revelation and rested with him waiting for realisation. Mg., *that he had in his spirit* (i.e. in his mind) is a less likely translation.

for the courts] The last verse dealt with the Temple itself; this one with the courts and detached buildings.

chambers] Cp. ix. 26, note.

the treasuries] The same Hebrew word as in xxvi. 20; Neh. xiii. 12, 13. See note on ver. 11.

dedicated things] xxvi. 26—28; 2 Chr. xv. 18.

13. *also for the courses*] The verse is best taken in adjectival connection with the phrase *the chambers round about* in the preceding verse: these were used *for the treasuries*..., and "*also for the courses*," etc. It is possible, however, to take it in the sense "he gave the pattern also for the courses," etc.; i.e. the scheme of rotation set forth in previous chapters.

of the priests and the Levites] Cp. xxiv. 1—31.

14. *of gold by weight*] *sc.* he gave the pattern or account *of gold*, etc.

of service; *of silver* for all the vessels of silver by weight,
15 for all vessels of every kind of service: by weight also for
the candlesticks of gold, and for the lamps thereof, of gold,
by weight for every candlestick and for the lamps thereof:
and for the candlesticks of silver, *silver* by weight for *every*
candlestick and for the lamps thereof, according to the use
16 of every candlestick: and the gold by weight for the tables
of shewbread, for every table; and silver for the tables of
17 silver: and the fleshhooks, and the basons, and the cups,
of pure gold: and for the golden bowls by weight for every
bowl; and for the silver bowls by weight for every bowl:
18 and for the altar of incense refined gold by weight: and
gold for the pattern of the chariot, *even* the cherubim, that
spread out *their wings*, and covered the ark of the covenant
19 of the LORD. All this, *said David*, [1]have I been made to
understand in writing from the hand of the LORD, even all
20 the works of this pattern. And David said to Solomon his
son, Be strong and of good courage, and do it: fear not,

[1] Or, *the LORD made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even &c.*

16. *tables of shewbread*] Elsewhere, except 2 Chr. iv. 19 (see note on 2 Chr. iv. 8), only one table for the shewbread is mentioned; cp. 2 Chr. xxix. 18; Ex. xxxv. 13, xxxvii. 10, xl. 22.

and silver] Neither the silver tables of this verse, nor the silver candlesticks of ver. 15 are mentioned elsewhere; perhaps they stood in some of the chambers (ver. 12) of the Temple courts for the use of the Levites in their work.

17. *fleshhooks*] Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 13.

basons] These were used for dashing the blood of a victim against the altar. Cp. 2 Chr. xxix. 22.

the cups] Probably the same as the *flagons* (R.V.) of Ex. xxv. 29 which were used for pouring out the drink offering.

18. *the altar of incense*] 2 Chr. xxvi. 16; Ex. xxx. 1—10.

the chariot, even *the cherubim*] Cp. Ezek. i. 5—10, 15—17. The Cherubim were poetically conceived as the chariot of Jehovah. The phrase has its origin in the language of Ps. xviii. 10.

19. *All this*, said David, *have I been made to understand in writing from the hand of the LORD, even all the works of this pattern*] Cp. ver. 11, note. As in the case of Moses and the tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 9, 40), so David's plans for the Temple are said to be of Divine origin.

20. *Be strong*] God's help in the planning is a pledge of God's help in the accomplishment. Cp. ver. 10, which finds its continuation at this point. The work was great, and Solomon young; xxii. 5.

nor be dismayed: for the LORD God, even my God, is with thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, until all the work for the service of the house of the LORD be finished.
21 And, behold, there are the courses of the priests and the Levites, for all the service of the house of God: and there shall be with thee in all manner of work every willing man that hath skill, for any manner of service: also the captains and all the people will be wholly at thy commandment.

29 And David the king said unto all the congregation, Solomon my son, whom alone God hath chosen, is yet young and tender, and the work is great: for the palace is
2 not for man, but for the LORD God. Now I have prepared with all my might for the house of my God the gold for the *things of* gold, and the silver for the *things of* silver, and the brass for the *things of* brass, the iron for the *things of*

be finished] The LXX. shows that a passage which was present in the Heb. text of the second century has been later accidentally omitted from the Heb. at this point. Add therefore **Now behold the pattern of the porch** *of the temple* **and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper rooms thereof, and of the inner chambers thereof, and of the house of the mercy-seat, even the pattern of the house of the Lord.** Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 73, 87.

21. *every willing man that hath skill*] Cp. Ex. xxxv. 5, 10 ff.

CH. XXIX. 1—5. DAVID'S CHALLENGE TO LIBERALITY.

1. *congregation*] or, *assembly*; the Hebrew word is cognate to the verb translated *assembled* in xxviii. 1.

whom alone God hath chosen] Cp. xxviii. 5.

the palace] Heb. *bīrāh*, a late word in Hebrew, perhaps derived from Assyrian *bīrtu*. Ordinarily it denoted a palace or fortress (cp. Neh. i. 1; Est. i. 2), and is applied to the Temple only here and ver. 19. In Neh. ii. 8 (cp. Ryle *in loco*) the building which afterwards became the Tower of Antonia (ἡ παρεμβολή, *the castle*, Acts xxi. 37, xxii. 24) which overlooked the Temple is called *the castle* (bīrāh) *which appertaineth to the house*. In Neh. i. 1 Shushan is described as a *bīrāh*, probably as being a fortress as well as a royal city. See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 347.

The Temple is frequently called *hēykāl* (*palace, great house*) in the Old Testament, but the normal appellation is simply *habbayith* (*the house*) or such a phrase as *the house of the Lord*, or again *qŏdshĕkhā* (*Thy sanctuary*).

iron, and wood for the *things of* wood; [1]onyx stones, and *stones* to be set, stones for inlaid work, and of divers colours, and all manner of precious stones, and marble stones in
3 abundance. Moreover also, because I have set my affection to the house of my God, seeing that I have a treasure of mine own of gold and silver, I give it unto the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy
4 house; even three thousand talents of gold, of the gold of Ophir, and seven thousand talents of refined silver, to
5 overlay the walls of the houses withal: of gold for the *things of* gold, and of silver for the *things of* silver, and for all manner of work *to be made* by the hands of artificers. Who then offereth willingly [2]to consecrate himself this day
6 unto the LORD? Then the princes of the fathers' *houses*, and the princes of the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers over the king's
7 work, offered willingly; and they gave for the service of

[1] Or, *beryl* [2] Heb. *to fill his hand.*

2. *onyx*] or, as mg., *beryl*. Cp. Gen. ii. 12 (mg. *beryl*).

stones for inlaid work] Cp. Is. liv. 11, *I will lay thy stones with fair colours* (the same word is used in Heb).

3. *I give it*] not all his private fortune, but the splendid offering announced in vv. 4, 5. David then challenges the leaders to display a like generosity (ver. 5).

even three thousand talents of gold, etc.] i.e. about £20,000,000 or £10,000,000 (light standard). The amount is impossibly vast, and may be compared with the exaggeration noted in xxii. 14.

4. *gold of Ophir*] *Ophir* is probably to be identified with some part of the south-east coast of Arabia; see note on 2 Chr. viii. 18. The reference here is no doubt an anachronism, for it is clear that Israelite tradition regarded this trade with Ophir as an innovation of Solomon's reign (see 2 Chr. viii. 18, ix. 10 = 1 Kin. ix. 28, x. 11).

to overlay] Cp. 2 Chr. iii. 4—8.

the houses] i.e. the porch, the greater house, and the most holy house; 2 Chr. iii. 4, 5, 8.

5. *offereth willingly to consecrate himself*] The phrase *to consecrate himself* (Heb., *to fill his hand*) means properly *to make himself a priest*, and is here used metaphorically. The sense is "Who will give these gifts for the sacred Temple in the same willing spirit which is required of a priest in his self-dedication to priestly service?"

6—9. THE OFFERINGS OF THE CHIEFS OF ISRAEL.

6. *over the king's work*] See xxvii. 25—31.

the house of God of gold five thousand talents and ten thousand darics, and of silver ten thousand talents, and of brass eighteen thousand talents, and of iron a hundred thousand talents. And they with whom *precious* stones were found gave them to the treasure of the house of the LORD, under the hand of Jehiel the Gershonite. Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with a perfect heart they offered willingly to the LORD: and David the king also rejoiced with great joy. Wherefore David blessed the LORD before all the congregation: and David said, Blessed be thou, O LORD, the God of Israel our father, for ever and ever. Thine, O LORD, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth *is thine*; thine is the kingdom, O LORD, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou rulest over all; and in thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all. Now therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name. But who am I, and what is my people, that we should [1]be able to offer so willingly after this sort? for all things come of thee, and [2]of thine own have we given thee. For we are strangers before

[1] Heb. *retain strength.* [2] Heb. *of thine hand.*

7. *five thousand talents*] i.e. of uncoined gold by weight, an immense sum, cp. ver. 3.

ten thousand darics] A *daric* was a Persian gold coin worth about 22 shillings. Used thus in connection with the reign of David, the word is of course a curious anachronism. The translation of A.V. *drams* (i.e. drachmæ) may possibly be right. The value of a gold drachma was about 9*s.* 5*d.*

8. *Jehiel the Gershonite*] Cp. xxiii. 8, xxvi. 21, 22.

9. *with a perfect heart*] i.e. with a single heart, ungrudgingly. Cp. xxviii. 9, note.

10—19. THE BLESSING OF DAVID.

11. *thou art exalted as head above all*] Better **thine it is to be exalted as head over all.**

14. *be able*] Lit. *retain strength.* David praises God for the great success of the efforts of so transitory a creature as man.

of thine own] Lit. *out of thine hand*, cp. mg.

15. *strangers before thee, and sojourners*] David describes himself

thee, and sojourners, as all our fathers were: our days on
16 the earth are as a shadow, and there is no [1]abiding. O LORD
our God, all this store that we have prepared to build thee
an house for thine holy name cometh of thine hand, and is
17 all thine own. I know also, my God, that thou triest the
heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the
uprightness of mine heart I have willingly offered all these
things: and now have I seen with joy thy people, which
18 are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. O LORD, the
God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, our fathers, keep
this for ever in the imagination of the thoughts of the heart
19 of thy people, and [2]prepare their heart unto thee: and give
unto Solomon my son a perfect heart, to keep thy com-
mandments, thy testimonies, and thy statutes, and to do all
these things, and to build the palace, for the which I have
20 made provision. And David said to all the congregation,
Now bless the LORD your God. And all the congregation
blessed the LORD, the God of their fathers, and bowed down
21 their heads, and worshipped the LORD, and the king. And
they sacrificed sacrifices unto the LORD, and offered burnt

[1] Heb. *hope.* [2] Or, *establish*

and his people not as strangers *to* God, but as strangers *dwelling before* God. In ancient states foreigners were sometimes allowed to reside in the capital under the immediate protection of the king or of the heads of the state; cp. 1 Sam. xxii. 3. 4, xxvii. 3; 2 Sam. xv. 19; cp. also the position of the aliens at Athens. David appeals to God on the ground that Israel is immediately under God's protection. Cp. Ps. xxxix. 12.

no abiding] Or, as mg., *hope*; i.e. no continuance, no hopeful expectation, apart from the favour of Jehovah.

18. *in the imagination*] Render, **as the imagination.** *Imagination* here means not the faculty, but the result of the exercise of the faculty, a *mental image* or *impression.*

prepare] Better, as mg., **establish.** David prays that the people may continue in their present mind.

19. *a perfect heart*] See xxviii. 9, note.

the palace] See ver. 1, note.

20—22. THE GREAT REJOICING.

20. *worshipped*] i.e. prostrated themselves.

21. *And they sacrificed*] Cp. xvi. 1—3.

offerings unto the LORD, on the morrow after that day, even
a thousand bullocks, a thousand rams, and a thousand
lambs, with their drink offerings, and sacrifices in abundance
for all Israel; and did eat and drink before the LORD on 22
that day with great gladness. And they made Solomon the
son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto
the LORD to be [1]prince, and Zadok to be priest. Then 23
Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD as king instead of
David his father, and prospered; and all Israel obeyed him.
And all the princes, and the mighty men, and all the sons 24
likewise of king David, [2]submitted themselves unto Solomon
the king. And the LORD magnified Solomon exceedingly 25
in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal
majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel.

[1] Or, *leader* [2] Heb. *gave the hand under Solomon.*

22. *the second time*] Cp. xxiii. 1. The first time which is described in 1 Kin. i. 39 (Solomon hastily anointed in order to assert his claim to the throne against his brother Adonijah) is omitted in Chron., unless perhaps the vague phrase of xxiii. 1 "Now David...made Solomon his son king over Israel" is intended to refer to it.

Zadok] One of Solomon's earliest acts seems to have been to put an end to the double priesthood by deposing Abiathar; cp. 1 Kin. ii. 27, 35. The Chronicler appears to have this in mind, but he avoids narrating anything so derogatory to the high-priesthood.

23—25. THE BEGINNING OF SOLOMON'S REIGN.

23. *the throne of the LORD*] See xxviii. 5, note.

24. *the mighty men*] Cp. 1 Kin. i. 10, 38, from which it is clear that the faithfulness of Benaiah and the Cherethites and Pelethites was the main factor in the elevation of Solomon to the throne.

all the sons] The Chronicler here glances at the submission of Adonijah (1 Kin. i. 53).

25. *such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel*] Strictly speaking, the comparison is limited to Solomon on the one side, and his predecessors, David and Saul (Ishbosheth is ignored in Chron.) on the other, but we may suppose that the Chronicler is writing somewhat loosely from his own standpoint, and really means to say that Solomon was surpassed in glory by no king of Israel. It is just possible (cp. Job xxxiv. 19) to render the Heb. **royal majesty which was not on any king more than on him in Israel.**

26 Now David the son of Jesse reigned over all Israel.
27 And the time that he reigned over Israel was forty years;
seven years reigned he in Hebron, and thirty and three
28 *years* reigned he in Jerusalem. And he died in a good old
age, full of days, riches, and honour: and Solomon his son
29 reigned in his stead. Now the acts of David the king, first
and last, behold, they are written in the [1]history of Samuel
the seer, and in the [1]history of Nathan the prophet, and in
30 the [1]history of Gad the seer; with all his reign and his
might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel,
and over all the kingdoms of the countries.

[1] Heb. *words*.

In Chronicles the character of Solomon is idealised somewhat in the same fashion as that of David. He is depicted as the monarch who attained the ideal of inspired wisdom and of royal splendour, and whose piety was supremely manifested in the privilege permitted him of building and dedicating the Temple. In this last fact the Chronicler doubtless felt that Solomon had a claim to the praises of posterity which completely outweighed any sinister traits of his character revealed in Kings. Elsewhere he refers to Solomon's failings in order to point a moral; "Did not Solomon, king of Israel, sin by these things?...Even him did strange women cause to sin" (Neh. xiii. 26). But here, where he relates his reign as a whole, the darker aspects—his many wives and his tolerance of their idolatrous worship—are passed over and only the king's zeal for Jehovah and the glories of Israel in his day are allowed to appear.

26—30. A Summary of David's Reign.

27. *forty years*] Cp. 2 Sam. v. 4, 5; 1 Kin. ii. 11.

29. On the "histories" cited in this verse, see the Introduction, § 5, pp. xxx—xxxii. Cp. 2 Chr. ix. 29.

in the history] lit. *words*. The Book of Chronicles itself is called in Hebrew, *The words* (or *the acts*) *of the days*.

Samuel the seer] Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 9, 19.

Nathan the prophet] See 2 Sam. vii. 2 (= 1 Chr. xvii. 1); 2 Sam. xii. 1; 1 Kin. i. 8—39.

Gad the seer] See 2 Sam. xxiv. 11 (= 1 Chr. xxi. 9), *Gad the prophet, David's seer*.

In the Heb. Samuel is called *rōeh* (*seer*), Nathan, *nābī* (*prophet*), and Gad, *hōzeh* (*gazer* or *seer of visions*).

30. *the times*] i.e. the changes, vicissitudes. Cp. xii. 32, note.

THE SECOND BOOK OF
THE CHRONICLES

AND Solomon the son of David was strengthened in his 1
kingdom, and the LORD his God was with him, and
magnified him exceedingly. And Solomon spake unto all 2
Israel, to the captains of thousands and of hundreds, and
to the judges, and to every prince in all Israel, the heads of
the fathers' *houses*. So Solomon, and all the congregation 3
with him, went to the high place that was at Gibeon; for
there was the tent of meeting of God, which Moses the
servant of the LORD had made in the wilderness. But the 4

CHAPTERS I.—IX. SOLOMON.

CH. I. 1—6. SOLOMON'S GREAT SACRIFICE AT GIBEON.

Vv. 1—5 are the composition of the Chronicler; for ver. 6 compare 1 Kin. iii. 4.

1. *was strengthened*] or, *strengthened himself*, a favourite expression of the Chronicler; cp. xii. 13, xiii. 21 (*waxed mighty*), xvii. 1, xxiii. 1, etc.

magnified] Cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 25.

2. *unto all Israel*] The impression, conveyed in the preceding chapter, that Solomon's accession was marred by no internal discord in the nation, is again emphasised.

3. *the high place...at Gibeon*] Cp. 1 Chr. xvi. 39, xxi. 29; 1 Kin. iii. 4. The passage in Kings naïvely states that Solomon offered his sacrifice at Gibeon (6 miles N.W. of Jerusalem) *because that was the great high place*. The Chronicler regarded the worship of the high-places as an illegal act, and sought to justify Solomon's action in this undeniable instance by the theory that the tent of meeting and the brasen altar (ver. 5) were at the high-place of Gibeon (see the head-note to 1 Chr. xiii.). Without doubt the high-place at Gibeon had been used by the Canaanites for worship from a very early date.

in the wilderness] See Ex. xxv. 1 ff., xxxv. 4 ff.

ark of God had David brought up from Kiriath-jearim to
the place that David had prepared for it: for he had pitched
5 a tent for it at Jerusalem. Moreover the brasen altar, that
Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, had made, [1] was there
before the tabernacle of the LORD: and Solomon and the
6 congregation sought unto it. And Solomon [2] went up thither
to the brasen altar before the LORD, which was at the tent
of meeting, and offered a thousand burnt offerings upon it.
7 In that night did God appear unto Solomon, and said
8 unto him, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said
unto God, Thou hast shewed great kindness unto David
9 my father, and hast made me king in his stead. Now,
O LORD God, let thy promise unto David my father be
established: for thou hast made me king over a people like
10 the dust of the earth in multitude. Give me now wisdom
and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before this

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *he had put yea, he offered*

[2] Or, *offered there, upon...*

4. Kiriath-jearim] Cp. 1 Chr. xiii. 5.

pitched a tent] Cp. 1 Chr. xv. 1.

5. *Bezalel*] See Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxviii. 1—7, and cp. 1 Chr. ii. 20.

was there] mg. *he had put.* In the Heb. the position of a point makes the difference between these two translations.

sought unto it] See 1 Chr. xxviii. 8, note.

6. *went up thither*] or, as mg., *offered there, upon.* It is to be noted that the Chronicler does not ignore the exercise of priestly functions by Solomon, although such exercise must have seemed wrong in his eyes, but follows his authority (1 Kin. iii. 4) without adding any explanation.

7—13 (= 1 Kin. iii. 5—15). SOLOMON'S VISION, AND RETURN TO JERUSALEM.

7. *did God appear*] In Kings, *the LORD appeared in a dream.*

9. *thy promise*] i.e. that Solomon would be king after David, that he would build the Temple, and that his house would reign over Israel for ever (1 Chr. xxii. 9 ff.). Part of this promise had come true, and Solomon now prays for the fulfilment of the remainder. It is, however, possible that the particular reference is to the first words of 1 Chr. xxii. 12, which may be translated as a promise, *Surely the LORD will give thee wisdom and understanding.*

10. *go out and come in*] The phrase denotes the transaction of business of all kinds.

people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great?
And God said to Solomon, Because this was in thine heart, 11
and thou hast not asked riches, wealth, or honour, nor the
life of them that hate thee, neither yet hast asked long life;
but hast asked wisdom and knowledge for thyself, that thou
mayest judge my people, over whom I have made thee
king: wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee; and I 12
will give thee riches, and wealth, and honour, such as none
of the kings have had that have been before thee, neither
shall there any after thee have the like. So Solomon [1]came 13
from his journey to the high place that was at Gibeon, from
before the tent of meeting, unto Jerusalem; and he reigned
over Israel.

And Solomon gathered chariots and horsemen: and he had 14
a thousand and four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand
horsemen, which he placed in the chariot cities, and with
the king at Jerusalem. And the king made silver and gold 15
to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as

[1] The Sept. and Vulgate have, *came from the high place.*

judge] Although every village by its headmen dispensed its own justice to its inhabitants, yet enough cases too hard for local decision remained over to make the king's judicial functions of very great importance; cp. 2 Sam. xiv. 4 ff., xv. 2—4.

12. *wisdom and knowledge is granted unto thee*] The incident illustrates the truth that *To him that hath shall be given*; Solomon had wisdom enough to offer a wise prayer; increase of wisdom followed as the answer to the prayer.

13. from his journey *to the high place that was at Gibeon*] This clause yields no sense in the Hebrew and is probably a misplaced gloss. Read simply, **Then Solomon came to Jerusalem** (cp. 1 Kin. iii. 15), or, as mg. following LXX., **came from the high place**....

14—17 (=1 Kin. x. 26—29). SOLOMON'S HORSES AND CHARIOTS.

14. *a thousand and four hundred chariots*] See note on ix. 25.

the chariot cities] The greater part of Palestine is unsuitable for the evolutions of chariots, but flat country is found along the coast of the Mediterranean, in the plain of Esdraelon, and east of Jordan, and in these three districts the chariot cities were probably situated. Cp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, p. 667, Appendix v.

15. *to be in Jerusalem as stones*] In Kings this is asserted of silver only. Jerusalem is one of the stoniest places in the world. See Kelman, *Holy Land*, pp. 9—11.

the sycomore trees that are in the lowland, for abundance.
16 And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of
Egypt; the king's merchants received them in droves, each
17 drove at a price. And they fetched up, and brought out of
Egypt a chariot for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an
horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of
the Hittites, and the kings of Syria, did they bring them out
by their means.

the sycomore trees] See 1 Chr. xxvii. 28, note.

lowland] Lit. *the Shephelah*; i.e. essentially the stretch of low hills separating the maritime plain from the hill country of Judah, yet perhaps also including the Philistine plain. See Hastings, *D. B.* III. 893—894.

16. *And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt*] Egypt is an agricultural not a pastoral country; it lacks the broad plains suitable for the rearing of large numbers of horses. But the Arabs of the Sinai peninsula stood in close political and mercantile relations with Egypt, and it may be that though the horses were raised in Arabia and Central Asia they passed through Egyptian hands (Barnes on 1 Kin. x. 28). It is possible, however, that the reading *Egypt* is a mistake—see the following note.

in droves, each drove at a price] The word "droves" is incorrectly translated "linen yarn" in the A.V. The rendering *droves* is just possible; but it is probable that, on the basis of some versions, we should read **from Ku'i** (*or* **Kuë**) **at a price**. *Kuë* is a district mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions and generally identified with Cilicia. It is further proposed that, instead of *Egypt* (Heb. *Miṣraim*), we should read *Muṣri*, a name applied (1) to Egypt, and (2) extended beyond it to the area south of Palestine, and (3) also denoting a district in N. Syria, south of the Taurus, and named in Assyrian inscriptions. In this case, in connection with *Kuë*, we should identify it with the last mentioned.

17. *out of Egypt*] Heb. *Miṣraim*. If the suggestion mentioned in the previous note be adopted, then here also read *Muṣri*, the N. Syrian district.

and so...by their means] i.e. by means of Solomon's merchants horses were exported for the kings of the Hittites and of Syria.

Hittites] Settlements of Hittites seem to have existed here and there in Canaan, but in the regions north-east of Syria they formed a powerful state, able for many centuries to contend on equal terms with the Assyrians and Egyptians. Their chief cities were Carchemish on the Euphrates and Kadesh on the Orontes. They were subdued in the eighth century by the Assyrians.

Now Solomon purposed to build an house for the name 2
of the LORD, and an house for his kingdom. And Solomon 2
told out threescore and ten thousand men to bear burdens,
and fourscore thousand men that were hewers in the
mountains, and three thousand and six hundred to oversee
them. And Solomon sent to [1]Huram the king of Tyre, 3
saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst
send him cedars to build him an house to dwell therein,
even so deal with me. Behold, I build an house for the 4

[1] In 1 Kings v. 1, *Hiram*.

CH. II. SOLOMON'S PREPARATIONS FOR BUILDING THE TEMPLE.

1, 2 [i. 18, ii. 1, Heb.] (=vv. 17, 18 below; 1 Kin. v. 15). BEARERS AND HEWERS.

1. *for the name*] cp. 1 Chr. xxii. 7, 10, 19, xxviii. 3, xxix. 16.
an house for his kingdom] See 1 Kin. vii. 1—8.

2. *told out*] i.e. counted. The 150,000 bearers and hewers mentioned here are said to have been *aliens* (ver. 17). This agrees with 1 Kin. v. 15, which distinguishes them from a levy of 30,000 hewers raised out of all Israel (*ib.* ver. 13). The 30,000 Israelites were subject to a corvée of one month in every three, the 150,000 aliens were presumably supposed to have been continuously engaged on the work. The Chronicler makes no mention of the levy of 30,000 Israelites, recorded in Kings, for no doubt he thought it unfitting that compulsory labour should be laid on the Israelites themselves. On the other hand he holds that the 150,000 were *all* aliens (see vv. 17, 18), whereas the writer in Kings, not having that scruple before his mind, does not make any such sweeping assertion (cp., however, 1 Kin. ix. 20).

3—10 (cp. 1 Kin. v. 2—6). SOLOMON'S MESSAGE TO HURAM.

This passage is much fuller in Chron. than in 1 Kings, which offers no parallel to Solomon's language with regard to the Temple; vv. 4—6. Again, ver. 7 (the request for a "cunning man") has no nearer parallel than 1 Kin. vii. 13. For ver. 10 also there is no strict parallel in 1 Kings.

3. *Huram*] Another form of *Hiram* (1 Kin. v. 1 [15, Heb.]) which is a shortened form of *Ahiram* (Heb. *Ăḥ*, "brother" and *rām*, "exalted"). Yet another form is *Hirom* (1 Kin. v. 10; see R.V. mg.). The Phoenician language is written with even fewer vowel signs than are found in ancient Hebrew; hence the uncertainty in the form of this name.

didst send him cedars] See 1 Chr. xiv. 1=2 Sam. v. 11.

name of the LORD my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him incense of sweet spices, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the set feasts of the LORD our God. This is *an ordinance* 5 for ever to Israel. And the house which I build is great: 6 for great is our God above all gods. But who [1]is able to build him an house, seeing the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain him? who am I then, that I should build him an house, save only to burn incense before him? 7 Now therefore send me a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave *all manner of* gravings, *to be* with the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, whom David my father did provide. 8 Send me also cedar trees, [2]fir trees, and [3]algum trees, out of Lebanon: for I know that thy servants can skill to cut timber in Lebanon; and, behold, my servants shall be with 9 thy servants, even to prepare me timber in abundance: for the house which I am about to build shall be wonderful 10 great. And, behold, I will give to thy servants, the hewers

[1] Heb. *retaineth strength.* [2] Or, *cypress* [3] In 1 Kings x. 11, *almug trees.*

4. *the continual shewbread*] See 1 Chr. ix. 32, notes; Lev. xxiv. 5—9.

on the set feasts] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 31, note.

6. *is able*] Lit. *retaineth strength*; 1 Chr. xxix. 14.

cannot contain him] Vv. 4—6 are carefully framed to guard against the careless imagination that the Temple is God's dwelling: to the Chronicler it is only the spot where worship is offered. Cp. vi. 2, 18.

7. *can skill to grave*] Lit. *knoweth how to grave.* To "grave" is to "carve"; cp. 1 Kin. vi. 29.

my father did provide] See 1 Chr. xxii. 15.

8. *cedar trees*] See 1 Chr. xxii. 4.

fir trees] mg., *cypress trees* (which however are not now indigenous on Lebanon).

algum trees] called *almug trees* in 1 Kin. x. 11, 12 and there described as coming from Ophir. According to 1 Kin. v. 8 Solomon asked for cedar and "fir" only; so that the mention of algum trees here is probably incorrect. *Algum* is perhaps *sandal-wood.*

that cut timber, twenty thousand [1]measures of beaten wheat, and twenty thousand [1]measures of barley, and twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil. Then Huram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which 11
he sent to Solomon, Because the LORD loveth his people, he hath made thee king over them. Huram said moreover, 12
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with discretion and understanding, that should build an house for the LORD, and an house for his kingdom. And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with under- 13
standing, [2]of Huram my father's, the son of a woman of the 14
daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre,

[1] Heb. *cors.* [2] Or, *even Huram my father* See ch. iv. 16.

10. *measures*] Heb. *cors.* A *cor* was the same as a *homer*=about 11 bushels.

beaten wheat] 1 Kin. v. 11, *wheat for food.* The text is doubtful, and the phrase *beaten wheat* occurs nowhere else and is uncertain in meaning.

of barley] The barley and wine are not mentioned in 1 Kin. v. 11; there wheat and oil only are mentioned.

twenty thousand baths of oil] In 1 Kin. v. 11 (Heb.) *twenty cors of pure oil.* In liquid measure the *bath*=about 8¼ gallons. As ten *baths* went to a cor, the amount stated in Chron. is a hundred times as much as the amount given in 1 Kings.

11—16 [10—15, Heb.] (cp. 1 Kin. v. 7—9). HURAM'S ANSWER TO SOLOMON.

Like the preceding vv. 3—10, these verses show considerable variations from the parallel in Kings.

12. The sequence is greatly improved if this verse is read before ver. 11. Probably the transposition should be made.

God of Israel] The Chronicler feels no incongruity in making Huram use the language of a worshipper of Jehovah.

13. *I have sent*] According to 1 Kin. vii. 13 Solomon himself sent and fetched Hiram the artificer.

of Huram my father's] Render either lit. as mg., **even Huram my father**, or better, **even Huram my trusted counsellor.** Huram the king calls Huram the artificer *my father* as a title of honour. Cp. iv. 16.

14. *of Dan*] in 1 Kin. vii. 14, *of Naphtali.* The reading of Chron. may have arisen from Ex. xxxi. 6 (Oholiab one of the artificers of the *tabernacle* was of the tribe *of Dan*).

skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to devise any device: that there may be *a place* appointed unto him with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men
15 of my lord David thy father. Now therefore the wheat and the barley, the oil and the wine, which my lord hath spoken of, let him send unto his servants: and we will cut wood
16 out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in floats by sea to [1]Joppa; and thou shalt
17 carry it up to Jerusalem. And Solomon numbered all the strangers that were in the land of Israel, after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered them; and they were found an hundred and fifty thousand and three
18 thousand and six hundred. And he set threescore and ten thousand of them to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand that were hewers in the mountains, and three thousand and six hundred overseers to set the people awork.

3 Then Solomon began to build the house of the LORD at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where *the* LORD appeared unto David his father, [2]which he made ready [3]in the place that

[1] Heb. *Japho.* [2] The Sept. and Vulgate have, *in the place which David had prepared, in the threshing-floor &c.* [3] Heb. *in the place of David.*

16. *Joppa*] Heb. *Japho*, modern *Jaffa* (*Yāfā*).

17, 18 [16, 17, Heb.] (cp. ver. 2 above). BEARERS AND HEWERS.

17. *David his father*] See 1 Chr. xxii. 2.

18. As the separate numbers given in this verse equal the total (150,000) given in ver. 17, evidently the Chronicler thought that all the aliens in the land were forced to take part in the work!

three thousand and six hundred overseers] In 1 Kin. v. 16, *three thousand and three hundred. Three* in Hebrew (which may be represented in English by the letters SLS) is easily corrupted into *six* (=SS in English letters). Cp. also viii. 10 (=1 Kin. ix. 23).

awork] i.e. *on work, to work.*

CH. III. **1, 2.** THE TEMPLE BEGUN.

Ver. 1 has no parallel in Kin.; for ver. 2 cp. 1 Kin. vi. 1.

1. *in mount Moriah*] Gen. xxii. 2.

which he made ready in the place that David had appointed] Read rather, as mg., **in the place which David had prepared** (so LXX.).

David had appointed, in the threshing-floor of [1]Ornan the
Jebusite. And he began to build in the second *day* of the 2
second month, in the fourth year of his reign. Now [2]these 3
are the foundations which Solomon laid for the building of
the house of God. The length by cubits after the first
measure was threescore cubits, and the breadth twenty
cubits. And the porch that was before *the house*, the 4
length of it, according to the breadth of the house, was
twenty cubits, and the height an hundred and twenty: and
he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house 5

[1] In 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, &c., *Araunah.* [2] Or, *these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed for &c.*

Ornan the Jebusite] See 1 Chr. xxi. 15 ff.

2. *in the second* day] The words are absent from 1 Kings and should probably be omitted here. The year according to 1 Kings was the four hundred and eightieth after the Exodus.

3 (=1 Kin. vi. 2). THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE TEMPLE.

3. *these are the foundations*] i.e. the measurements which follow state the ground-plan of the Temple.

cubits after the first measure] The *cubit* was the length of the forearm from the elbow to the extremity of the middle finger, about 17½ inches. A difficult verse in Ezek. (xl. 5) seems to have given rise to the idea that in early times the cubit was a somewhat longer measure, and that may be what the Chronicler intended by the present phrase "cubits after the first (or *former*) measure." Exact measurements on the site of the Temple have now demonstrated that about 17½ inches was at all times the standard length of the cubit (see *P. E. F. S.* Oct. 1915, pp. 186 f.).

4 (=1 Kin. vi. 3). THE PORCH.

4. *And the porch that was before* the house] The Hebrew text is corrupt, but the sense of the original reading has probably been correctly guessed by the R.V.

the height an hundred and twenty] So also LXX. As the Temple was only 30 cubits in height, this building was rather a tower than a porch. In 1 Kings nothing is said about height. Most probably the true reading was "twenty," not "an hundred and twenty"; the "hundred" being a marginal gloss added by someone who was thinking of Herod's Temple of which the porch was 100 cubits in height.

5—7 (cp. 1 Kin. vi. 15, 21, 29, 30). THE TEMPLE.

5. *the greater house*] i.e. the holy place. It was *forty* cubits long (1 Kin. vi. 17), whereas the shrine was *twenty* (1 Kin. vi. 16, 20).

he cieled with [1]fir tree, which he overlaid with fine
6 gold, and wrought thereon palm trees and chains. And
he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty:
7 and the gold was gold of Parvaim. He overlaid also the
house, the beams, the thresholds, and the walls thereof, and
the doors thereof, with gold; and graved cherubim on the
8 walls. And he made the most holy house; the length
thereof, according to the breadth of the house, was twenty
cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits: and he
overlaid it with fine gold, amounting to six hundred talents.

[1] Or, *cypress*

he cieled] i.e. *lined* or *boarded*. The same Hebrew word is translated *overlaid* in this same verse.

wrought thereon] perhaps in the form of reliefs.

palm trees and chains] The "chains" perhaps connected one palm tree with another. In 1 Kin. vi. 29, "cherubim and palm trees and open flowers."

6. *precious stones*] Not mentioned in the parallel account, but according to 1 Kin. v. 17 *costly stones* (the same expression in Hebrew) were used for the foundations of the house, their *costliness* being due presumably to their immense size. Here, however, the phrase "for beauty" suggests that the Chronicler is thinking of rare and precious stones to be set in the walls—an exaggeration not out of keeping with the references to "pure gold" in vv. 4, 7, etc.

Parvaim] Apparently the name of a place, but nothing certain is known about it.

7. *cherubim*] The *cherubim* (plural of *cherub*) were the Hebrew adaptation of the winged bulls which are so striking a figure in Babylonian and Assyrian art. Nothing, however, can be ascertained as to the exact form in which they were depicted in the Temple. In the O.T. they appear as guardians of sacred things (Gen. iii. 24; Ezek. xxviii.) and as sustainers of the Deity (e.g. Ps. lxxx. 1 "Thou that sittest upon the cherubim"; cp. Ps. xviii. 10). The figures were therefore emblematic of the presence of Jehovah.

The graving of the cherubim was not felt to be a breach of the Second Commandment, for they were not put up to "bow down to" or to "serve."

8, 9 (cp. 1 Kin. vi. 16—20). THE HOLY OF HOLIES.

8. *the most holy house*] Called *the oracle* in 1 Kin. vi. 16, 19, etc., Hebrew *dĕbīr*, which means rather the *hinder part*. The Lord "dwells" in the inmost recess of the house.

amounting to six hundred talents] This detail is not found elsewhere. The weight of gold would be over 64,000 lbs., or, on a less probable reckoning, 27,000 lbs.; incredible quantities in either case, but in keeping with the vast amounts stated in 1 Chr. xxix. 4.

And the weight of the nails was fifty shekels of gold. And 9
he overlaid the upper chambers with gold. And in the 10
most holy house he made two cherubim of image work;
and they overlaid them with gold. And the wings of the 11
cherubim were twenty cubits long: the wing of the one
cherub was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house;
and the other wing was *likewise* five cubits, reaching to the
wing of the other cherub. And the wing of the other 12
cherub was five cubits, reaching to the wall of the house:
and the other wing was five cubits *also*, joining to the wing
of the other cherub. The wings of these cherubim spread 13
themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their
feet, and their faces were [1]toward the house. And he made 14
the veil of blue, and purple, and crimson, and fine linen,
and wrought cherubim thereon. Also he made before the 15

[1] Or, *inward*

10—13 (cp. 1 Kin. vi. 23—28). THE CHERUBIM.

10. *of image work; and they overlaid*] The phrase "of image work" is meaningless. Following the LXX. ἔργον ἐκ ξύλων καὶ ἐχρύσωσεν, render **woodwork, and he overlaid.**

13. *twenty cubits*] Extending across the width of the whole house.

on their feet] Not "couchant" nor "rampant" but standing, as the winged bulls of Assyria stand.

toward the house] as though to protect the Holiest Place from violation by anyone advancing through the house.

14 (cp. Ex. xxvi. 31, 32). THE VEIL.

No *veil* for Solomon's Temple is mentioned in 1 Kings, but (1 Kin. vi. 31, 32) *doors* of olive wood with cherubim carved upon them stood at the entrance of the Holy of Holies. The description of the veil seems to have been borrowed by the Chronicler from the account of the tabernacle given in Exodus.

15—17 (cp. 1 Kin. vii. 15—22). THE PILLARS JACHIN AND BOAZ.

15. *before the house two pillars*] Cp. 1 Kin. vii. 21, *he set up the pillars at the porch of the temple*, and Jer. lii. 17 (translate, *the pillars... that belonged to the house*). These pillars were immediately in front of the porch, but (it seems) detached from it. They were cast in brass (iv. 11—17), were hollow (Jer. lii. 21), and were crowned with "chapiters" (capitals) in shape like bowls (1 Kin. vii. 41). A pair of lofty frontal pillars, detached from the main building, was a no

house two pillars of thirty and five cubits high, and the chapiter that was on the top of each of them was five cubits.
16 And he made chains in the oracle, and put *them* on the tops of the pillars; and he made an hundred pomegranates, and
17 put them on the chains. And he set up the pillars before the temple, one on the right hand, and the other on the left; and called the name of that on the right hand [1]Jachin,
4 and the name of that on the left [2]Boaz. Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and

[1] That is, *He shall establish*. [2] That is, perhaps, *In it is strength*.

uncommon feature of temples in Western Asia and Egypt—e.g. at the Temple of Hercules (Melkart) at Tyre (Herod. II. 44), the Temple of Paphos in Cyprus (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 488), at Karnak in Egypt (cp. Perrot and Chipiez, *Egypt. Art*, II. 170). In Solomon's Temple these twin columns may have been conventional imitations of the prevailing type of temple building, but it is rather to be supposed that there also they were considered to be symbolic of the presence of God, and were developments of the ancient stone pillars (*maṣṣeboth*) which were a constant feature at Semitic shrines and had originally been regarded as the abode of the Deity.

thirty and five cubits high] 35 is also given in the LXX. of Jer. lii. 21; but is almost certainly an error. Read *eighteen*, as in 1 Kin. vii. 15; Jer. lii. 21 (Heb.).

16. *he made chains in the oracle*] The words, *in the oracle*, though found in LXX., are a gloss introduced from 1 Kin. vi. 21 (*chains... before the oracle*), or, more probably, a corruption of a word meaning "like a necklace." The Chronicler is here speaking of the *outside* of the Temple, having already described the "oracle," i.e. the Holy of Holies, in vv. 8—14. The Heb. word *dᵉbīr* was translated "oracle" because it was supposed to be derived from a word meaning "to speak." It means, however, simply "the hindermost part" of the house (cp. iv. 20, v. 7, 9).

17. *Jachin...Boaz*] Mg. translates the two words; *Jachin* "He shall establish," *Boaz* perhaps "In it is strength." LXX. gives Κατόρθωσις ("setting up") and Ἰσχύς ("strength"). The meaning of *Boaz* is uncertain. It may be only a pious correction of an original *Baal*. (For the avoidance of the word *Baal*, see the notes on xvii. 3, 1 Chr. viii. 33; and for further comments on "Jachin" and "Boaz" see *Ency. Bib.* II. 2. 304, and Barnes in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, v. 447 ff.)

Ch. IV. 1. The Altar of Brass.

1. *an altar of brass, twenty cubits*] The brasen altar is referred to in 1 Kin. viii. 64; 2 Kin. xvi. 14 ff., but it is (strangely) not mentioned among the furnishings of the Temple described in the present text of

twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof. Also he made the molten sea of ten cubits from 2
brim to brim, round in compass, and the height thereof was five cubits; and a line of thirty cubits compassed it round about. And under it was the similitude of [1]oxen, which did 3

[1] In 1 Kings vii. 24, *knops*.

1 Kin. vii. It is impossible therefore to say whether the Chronicler derives the measurements he here gives from a text of Kin. which did contain a description of the brasen altar, or from the altar of the Temple of his own period. The latter is more probable. Some scholars consider it possible that at first Solomon's Temple contained no artificial altar, the sacrifices being offered on the great natural rock which is now covered by the famous building popularly known as the Mosque of Omar (properly "The Dome of the Rock").

The great altar was probably a flat oblong expanse, the highest of a series of terraces, of which the base measurement is given by the Chronicler—cp. the description of Ezekiel's altar (Ezek. xliii. 13 ff.).

2—5 (=1 Kin. vii. 23—26). THE MOLTEN SEA.

2. *he made the molten sea*] Render, **he made the sea of molten metal**. The "sea" or great laver was a well-known feature in temples (cp. Rev. iv. 6), and, originally at least, is likely to have had religious significance, as a symbol of Jehovah's power over the seas and the rain, or over the primeval Deep upon which His might was exercised in the creation of the world (Gen. i.; Ps. xxiv. 2). For the Chronicler's view of its purpose, see ver. 6.

ten cubits from brim to brim...and a line of thirty cubits compassed it] The mathematical inaccuracy in the measurements here given—10 in diameter, 30 in circumference—has often been pointed out. But the literal Heb. is "ten *with* the cubit...and thirty *with* the cubit," and F. C. Burkitt in a communication to the *Cambridge Review* for May 13, 1914 offers an interesting vindication of the phrase. He writes "...What the verse says about the circumference of the 'sea' is that they stretched a string round it, and when they laid the string out flat they had to go thirty times with the cubit, i.e. a man had to put his elbow down thirty times before he got to the end." [The distance from the point of the elbow to the tip of the longest finger is 1 cubit.] "No doubt the last time he put his elbow down the string came short: in other words, the 'sea' was nine-and-a-bittock across and twenty-nine-and-a-bittock round. As a matter of fact, if a circle be 9 ft. 6 in. across, it is just over 29 ft. 10 in. round. Such a circle I think would be described in Heb. as 'ten with the foot-rule' across and 'thirty with the foot-rule' in circumference."

a line of thirty cubits compassed it] i.e. it was thirty cubits in circumference.

3. *under it was the similitude of oxen*] This reading has the support

compass it round about, [1]for ten cubits, compassing the sea round about. The [2]oxen were in two rows, cast when it was
4 cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set upon them above, and all their hinder parts
5 were inward. And it was an handbreadth thick; and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: it received and held three thousand baths.
6 He made also ten lavers, and put five on the right hand, and five on the left, to wash in them; such things as belonged to the burnt offering they washed in them: but
7 the sea was for the priests to wash in. And he made the

[1] Or, *ten in a cubit* [2] In 1 Kings vii. 24, *knops*.

of the LXX., but can hardly be correct. Read (cp. 1 Kin. vii. 24), **under it there were knops**, "knops" being embossed ornaments, imitating probably the fruit or the flowers of the gourd.

for ten cubits] Obviously an error, for the "knops" encircle the sea, and its circumference was thirty not ten cubits. The rendering of the mg. "ten in a cubit" gives good sense, but is not a fair translation. Whatever the mistake in the Heb. may be, it appears in 1 Kin. vii. 24 also.

The oxen were in two rows, cast when it was cast] Correct the reading as before and render, **The knops were in two rows, cast when it was cast.** It is mentioned as a triumph of the founder's art that the laver was cast *complete*, with its ornaments, from the first.

4. *three...and three...and three...and three*] Thus the base stood "foursquare," satisfying the Hebrew idea of completeness; cp. Rev. xxi. 12—16.

5. *three thousand baths*] In 1 Kin. vii. 26, *two thousand baths*. Whether the textual corruption is to be attributed to 1 Kin. or to Chron. cannot be determined, and further even *two thousand baths* is an amount exceeding the capacity of a vessel with the measurements given for the *sea* above. The bath was a measure for liquids equal to about 8¼ gallons.

6 (cp. ver. 14 and 1 Kin. vii. 38, 39). THE LAVERS.

6. *the sea was for the priests to wash in*] See, however, the note on ver. 2 above regarding its probable significance in early times. For this, the Chronicler's view of its purpose (as also that of the lavers), cp. Ex. xxx. 18—21. The sea in particular would be singularly awkward as a vessel for cleansing purposes, unless all that is meant is that it was used as the receptacle from which water for purification was drawn.

ten candlesticks of gold according to the ordinance concerning them; and he set them in the temple, five on the right hand, and five on the left. He made also ten tables, 8
and placed them in the temple, five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made an hundred basons of gold. Furthermore he made the court of the priests, and the great 9
court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of

7 (= 1 Kin. vii. 49). The Golden Candlesticks.

7. *ten candlesticks*] Rather, **the ten lamp-stands.** Allusion to *ten* lamp-stands or candlesticks is found elsewhere only in 1 Kin. vii. 49, a late passage. In view of the frequent references to *one* candlestick with seven lamps (cp. Zech. iv.; Ex. xxv. 31 ff.), the question arises whether the *ten* ever had historical reality, or were simply a fiction of tradition. The reference to candlesticks of gold and of silver in 1 Chr. xxviii. 15 does not help us, for it depends on the same evidence, sound or unsound, which the Chronicler had for the present passage. Some scholars feel that there must be some ground for the statement; but no positive conclusion is yet possible.

according to the ordinance] Cp. Ex. xxv. 31—37, xl. 4.

in the temple] In 1 Kin. vii. 49 more precisely, *before the oracle*, i.e. before the Holy of Holies.

8. The Tables and Basons.

8. *ten tables*] In ver. 19 "the tables (*plural*) whereon was the shewbread" are mentioned (cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 16), but the parallel passage (1 Kin. vii. 48) has "the table" (*sing.*), and elsewhere both in Chronicles and in the rest of the O.T. one table only is assigned to the shewbread (2 Chr. xiii. 11, xxix. 18). Probably therefore the ten tables here mentioned were *not* for the shewbread, although the Chronicler may have thought so. The same uncertainty attaches to this tradition of ten tables as to that of the ten candlesticks (see previous note); and it is held by some that these tables were for the support of the candlesticks.

basons] These were used for dashing the blood of the sacrifices against the altar.

9, 10. The Two Courts.

9. *the court of the priests, and the great court*] The phrases reflect the conditions of the second Temple with which the Chronicler was familiar, when the inner court was confined to the use of the priests, the outer one being for the people. Solomon's Temple, strictly speaking, had only *one* court, for in "the other court" stood Solomon's house (1 Kin. vii. 8). This "other court" seems to be called the "middle court" (2 Kin. xx. 4, mg.), and the "upper court" (Jer. xxxvi. 10). The "great court" (1 Kin. vii. 12) was perhaps a third court containing not

10 them with brass. And he set the sea on the right side *of*
11 *the house* eastward, toward the south. And Huram made the pots, and the shovels, and the basons. So Huram made an end of doing the work that he wrought for king
12 Solomon in the house of God: the two pillars, and the bowls, and the two chapiters which were on the top of the pillars; and the two networks to cover the two bowls of
13 the chapiters that were on the top of the pillars; and the four hundred pomegranates for the two networks; two rows of pomegranates for each network, to cover the two bowls
14 of the chapiters that were [1]upon the pillars. He made also
15 the bases, and the lavers made he upon the bases; one sea,
16 and the twelve oxen under it. The pots also, and the shovels, and the fleshhooks, and all the vessels thereof, did Huram his father make for king Solomon for the house of the
17 LORD of bright brass. In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zeredah.

[1] Heb. *upon the face of the pillars.*

only the king's house, but all the royal buildings as well. The Heb. word for "court" in all the above passages is *ḥāṣēr*, but here the "court (*ḥāṣēr*) of the priests" is distinguished from a court called the "great court" (Heb. "great *'azārāh*"). Perhaps the Chronicler wishes to make the same distinction when he says that Solomon's great prayer was offered (vi. 13) in "the court" (Heb. *'azārāh*). Cp. xx. 5 (note).

10. *the sea*] See vv. 2—5. Its position is stated in accordance with 1 Kin. vii. 39.

11—18 (=1 Kin. vii. 40—47). THE WORKS OF HURAM.

This section is taken from the parallel passage of 1 Kings. The variations are few.

11. *Huram*] For the form of the name see note on ii. 3.

12. *two pillars*] See iii. 15—17.

the bowls] i.e. the bowl-shaped part of the capital of a pillar.

the chapiters] In modern English "capitals."

14. *He made also the bases, and the lavers made he upon the bases*] A simple correction of the Hebrew text gives, **And the ten bases and the ten lavers on the bases**, as in 1 Kin. vii. 43.

16. *the fleshhooks*] Heb. *mizlāgōth*. In ver. 11 and 1 Kin. vii. 45 (the parallel passages) *the basons* (Heb. *mizrāḳōth*).

Huram his father] See note on ii. 13.

17. *in the clay ground*] G. A. Smith (*Historical Geography*, p. 488) speaks of traces of old brick-fields found by Sir C. Warren in the Jordan

Thus Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance: 18
for the weight of the brass [1]could not be found out. And 19
Solomon made all the vessels that were in the house of
God, the golden altar also, and the tables whereon was the
shewbread; and the candlesticks with their lamps, that they 20
should burn according to the ordinance before the oracle,
of pure gold; and the flowers, and the lamps, and the 21
tongs, of gold, and that perfect gold; and the snuffers, and 22
the basons, and the spoons, and the firepans, of pure gold:
and as for the entry of the house, the inner doors thereof
for the most holy place, and the doors of the house, *to*

[1] Or, *was not searched out*

valley. It is possible, however, that the Heb. is defective and that the true reading is **at the ford of Adamah**, but on the whole it is best to keep the reading in the text (see Barnes on 1 Kin. vii. 46).

Succoth] Succoth is probably *Tell Deir 'Alla*, east of Jordan, about one mile north of the Jabbok.

Zeredah] (1 Kin. xi. 26); but in 1 Kin. vii. 46 (R.V.) *Zarethan* (cp. Josh. iii. 6, R.V.). Its site is not known, beyond the obvious inference that it was near the Jordan and not very far from Succoth. Jos. iii. 16 states that it was near *Adam* (the modern *el Damieh*).

18. *Thus Solomon made all these vessels in great abundance*] In 1 Kin. vii. 47, *And Solomon left all the vessels* unweighed, *because they were exceeding many.*

19—V. 1 (= 1 Kin. vii. 48—51). The Vessels of Gold.

The Completion of the Work.

19. *the golden altar*] This was the altar of incense (cp. 1 Macc. i. 21 ff.), which according to Ex. xxx. 1 ff. stood within the tabernacle and was made of acacia wood (cp. however, Ex. xxxix. 38). Both passages in Exodus are of late, post-exilic, date, and as no mention of this altar is made by Ezekiel, it was probably a feature not of the first but of the second Temple.

the tables whereon was the shewbread] In 1 Kin. vii. 48 (parallel passage), *the table* (sing.); a reading probably to be accepted here also; cp. note on ver. 8.

20. *the oracle*] See note on iii. 16.

21. *the flowers*] These were ornaments on the golden candlesticks; cp. Ex. xxxvii. 19.

22. *the firepans*] in which fire was carried to and from the altar.

the doors of the house, to wit, *of the temple*] The "[greater] house" or "temple" is here distinguished from the "most holy place" or "shrine." Cp. iii. 5, 8.

5 *wit*, of the temple, were of gold. Thus all the work that Solomon wrought for the house of the LORD was finished. And Solomon brought in the things that David his father had dedicated; even the silver, and the gold, and all the vessels, and put them in the treasuries of the house of God.
2 Then Solomon assembled the elders of Israel, and all the heads of the tribes, the princes of the fathers' *houses* of the children of Israel, unto Jerusalem, to bring up the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of the city of David, which
3 is Zion. And all the men of Israel assembled themselves unto the king at the feast, which was *in* the seventh month.
4 And all the elders of Israel came, and the Levites took up
5 the ark. And they brought up the ark, and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that were in the Tent;

were of gold] According to the more probable reading of 1 Kin. vii. 50 the *hinges* were of gold; the doors themselves were of olive wood overlaid with gold (1 Kin. vi. 31, 32).

CH. V. **1.** *all the vessels*] the word may be taken to include weapons, spoils of war, cp. 2 Sam. viii. 7 ff.; 1 Chr. xviii. 11.

V. 2—VIII. 10. THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

V. 2—10 (= 1 Kin. viii. 1—9). THE ARK BROUGHT INTO THE SANCTUARY.

This section is taken almost verbatim from 1 Kings.

2. *Then Solomon assembled*] The same verb in the Hebrew as in 1 Chr. xv. 3 (see note there) and in 1 Chr. xxviii. 1.

the city of David] See 1 Chr. xi. 5, note on *the strong hold of Zion*.

3. *the feast*] i.e. the Feast of Tabernacles, i.e. after the fruit harvest.

in *the seventh month*] In 1 Kings the name of the month is given as *Ethanim*, but this word was perhaps obsolete when the Chronicler wrote; at any rate we know that in post-biblical times the seventh month was regularly called *Tisri*.

4. *the Levites took up the ark*] According to 1 Kings the *priests* performed this duty. In the days of David and Solomon all Levites were possible priests, Levi being the name of the priestly clan and not of a lower order of priests. At a later period the Levites were regarded as a class subordinate to the priests, having duties distinct from those of the priests—e.g. the task of bearing the tabernacle and all its furniture (see Num. i. 50, etc.). The Chronicler believing that this distinction had been in force from the time of Moses onwards "corrects" the text of Kings by changing "priests" into "Levites": cp. 1 Chr. xv. 2, 12, 13. See the special note on 1 Chr. vi., pp. 51 f.

5. *the tent of meeting*] i.e. the Mosaic tabernacle, which the

these did the priests the Levites bring up. And king 6
Solomon and all the congregation of Israel, that were
assembled unto him, were before the ark, sacrificing sheep
and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude.
And the priests brought in the ark of the covenant of the 7
LORD unto its place, into the oracle of the house, to the
most holy place, even under the wings of the cherubim.
For the cherubim spread forth their wings over the place of 8
the ark, and the cherubim covered the ark and the staves
thereof above. And [1]the staves were so long that the ends 9
of the staves were seen from the ark before the oracle; but
they were not seen without: and there it is, unto this day.
There was nothing in the ark save the two tables which 10
Moses put *there* at Horeb, [2]when the LORD made a covenant
with the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt.

[1] Or, *they drew out the staves, so that &c.* [2] Or, *where*

Chronicler believed to have been in existence in the time of David and Solomon, and to have been at Gibeon (i. 3 f.). The parallel statement in Kings comes not from the early sources but from the hand of a late reviser.

the priests the Levites] here the older phrase, which does not indicate a distinction between Priests and Levites, has been allowed to stand, perhaps "because certain utensils might well have been borne by the priests" (so Curtis), or possibly through slight carelessness on the Chronicler's part. The parallel in Kings has "the priests *and* the Levites."

7. *the priests brought in the ark*] Only the priests might lawfully place the Ark within the Holy of Holies (cp. Num. iv. 5 ff.). The Chronicler therefore had no cause for changing *priests* into *Levites* here.

into the oracle] See iii. 16, note.

9. *from the ark*] Read (with LXX. and 1 Kin. viii. 8) **from the holy place.** One standing in the Holy Place and looking towards the Holy of Holies could see the heads of the staves.

and there it is, unto this day] These words are taken over with the loss of one letter (which here makes the difference between singular and plural) from 1 Kin. viii. 8, but they are out of place in Chron., for when the Chronicler wrote the Ark had long ago disappeared. The vessels which were brought back from the Babylonian captivity are specified in Ezra i. 9, 10, but the Ark of the covenant is not reckoned among them.

10. *which Moses put* there] Ex. xl. 20.

at Horeb] Deut. v. 2.

11 And it came to pass, when the priests were come out of
the holy place, (for all the priests that were present had
12 sanctified themselves, and did not keep their courses; also
the Levites which were the singers, all of them, even
Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and their brethren,
arrayed in fine linen, with cymbals and psalteries and harps,
stood at the east end of the altar, and with them an hundred
13 and twenty priests sounding with trumpets:) it came even
to pass, when the trumpeters and singers were as one, to
make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the
LORD; and when they lifted up their voice with the
trumpets and cymbals and instruments [1]of music, and
praised the LORD, *saying*, For he is good; for his mercy
endureth for ever: that then the house was filled with a
14 cloud, even the house of the LORD, so that the priests
could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the
glory of the LORD filled the house of God.

[1] Or, *for song*

11—14 (=1 Kin. viii. 10, 11). THE DESCENT OF THE GLORY OF THE LORD.

11. *out of the holy place*] The priests could remain neither in the Holy of Holies where they had deposited the Ark, nor even in the Holy Place, but were driven altogether out of the Temple building into the Temple court (cp. ver. 14).

11—13 *a*. *for all...his mercy* endureth *for ever*] a long parenthesis added by the Chronicler to intimate that the whole body and not merely the monthly "course" of priests and of Levitical singers were present (vv. 11 *b*—12); and to suggest the grandeur of the musical service (ver. 13 *a*).

11. *their courses*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiv. 1—19.

12. *Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxv. 1—7.

psalteries...harps] See 1 Chr. xiii. 8, notes.

at the east end of the altar] Looking westward, facing the Holy of Holies. To face the east was to turn the back upon the sanctuary; Ezek. viii. 16.

trumpets] See 1 Chr. xv. 24, note.

13. *of music*] Rather, as mg., **for song**.

for his mercy endureth *for ever*] 1 Chr. xvi. 41.

was filled with a cloud] Ex. xl. 34, 35.

Then spake Solomon, The LORD hath said that he would 6
dwell in the thick darkness. But I have built thee an house 2
of habitation, and a place for thee to dwell in for ever. And 3
the king turned his face, and blessed all the congregation of
Israel: and all the congregation of Israel stood. And he 4
said, Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, which spake
with his mouth unto David my father, and hath with his
hands fulfilled it, saying, Since the day that I brought forth 5
my people out of the land of Egypt, I chose no city out of
all the tribes of Israel to build an house in, that my name
might be there; neither chose I any man to be [1]prince over
my people Israel: but I have chosen Jerusalem, that my 6
name might be there; and have chosen David to be over
my people Israel. Now it was in the heart of David my 7
father to build an house for the name of the LORD, the
God of Israel. But the LORD said unto David my father, 8
Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house for my
name, thou didst well that it was in thine heart: nevertheless 9

[1] Or, *leader*

CH. VI. **1—11** (=1 Kin. viii. 12—21). SOLOMON'S BLESSING.

1, 2. These somewhat obscure verses come from 1 Kings, the only important variation being, *But I have built* (Chron.), for *I have surely built* (1 Kin.). They seem to have been taken originally from some old source of a poetical character, possibly the *Book of Jashar* (see Burney, *Notes on Heb. Text of 1 Kings*, pp. 111 f.).

1. *Then*] i.e. at the moment when Solomon perceived that the cloud had filled the House.

that he would dwell in the thick darkness] No Divine declaration corresponding verbally with this occurs in the O.T., but cp. Ex. xx. 21, *Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was*, and *ib.* xix. 9, *the LORD said unto Moses, Lo, I come unto thee in a thick cloud.*

2. *But I have built*] The adversative *but* is awkward, and the text in Kings (see above) is more suitable: Solomon has built a house in which the dark shrine seems a fitting abode for Him who wills to dwell in the "thick darkness."

5. *neither chose I any man to be prince over my people Israel*] The Chronicler regards Saul as rejected rather than chosen; 1 Chr. x. 13, 14.

that my name might be there] "Name" is used, as regularly in this connection, to signify the Divine character—God conceived as that which He has revealed Himself to be.

7. *in the heart of David*] Cp. 1 Chr. xvii. 1, 2, xxii. 7.

thou shalt not build the house; but thy son that shall come forth out of thy loins, he shall build the house for my name.
10 And the LORD hath performed his word that he spake; for I am risen up in the room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as the LORD promised, and have built the house for the name of the LORD, the God of Israel.
11 And there have I set the ark, wherein is the covenant of the LORD, which he made with the children of Israel.
12 And he stood before the altar of the LORD in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth
13 his hands: (for Solomon had made a brasen scaffold, of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court; and upon it he stood, and kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel, and spread forth his hands toward
14 heaven:) and he said, O LORD, the God of Israel, there is no God like thee, in the heaven, or in the earth; who keepest covenant and mercy [1]with thy servants, that walk

[1] Or, *for*

9. *thou shalt not build*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxii. 8, note.

11. *the covenant*] i.e. the two tables of stone, cp. v. 10.
with the children of Israel] In 1 Kin. viii. 21, *with our fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt.*

12—39 (= 1 Kin. viii. 22—50). SOLOMON'S PRAYER.

The prayer is reproduced from 1 Kings with a few verbal changes and with the omission of vv. 50*b*—53. It is mainly a petition that future prayers made "in" or "toward this house" may be heard. The subjects of the different parts of the prayer are as follows:—

vv. 14—17. The promise made to David.
18—21. Prayer made toward *this place.*
22, 23. The oath of ordeal taken in *this place.*
24, 25. Prayer under defeat.
26, 27. Prayer for rain.
28—31. Prayer under divers afflictions.
32, 33. The stranger's prayer.
34, 35. The prayer of the army at war abroad.
36—39. The prayer of Israel in captivity.

13. *Solomon had made a brasen scaffold*] This "scaffold" is not mentioned in 1 Kings. The word used (*kiyyōr*) properly means a "laver" (so iv. 6), and perhaps the simple emendation *kiyyūn* = "platform" should be adopted.

before thee with all their heart: who hast kept with thy 15
servant David my father that which thou didst promise him:
yea, thou spakest with thy mouth, and hast fulfilled it with
thine hand, as it is this day. Now therefore, O LORD, the 16
God of Israel, keep with thy servant David my father that
which thou hast promised him, saying, [1]There shall not fail
thee a man in my sight to sit on the throne of Israel; if
only thy children take heed to their way, to walk in my law
as thou hast walked before me. Now therefore, O LORD, 17
the God of Israel, let thy word be verified, which thou
spakest unto thy servant David. But will God in very deed 18
dwell with men on the earth? behold, heaven and the
heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less
this house which I have builded! Yet have thou respect 19
unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplication,
O LORD my God, to hearken unto the cry and to the prayer
which thy servant prayeth before thee: that thine eyes may 20
be open toward this house day and night, even toward the
place whereof thou hast said that thou wouldest put thy name
there; to hearken unto the prayer which thy servant shall
pray toward this place. And hearken thou to the supplica- 21
tions of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, when they
shall pray toward this place: yea, hear thou from thy
dwelling place, even from heaven; and when thou hearest,

[1] Heb. *There shall not be cut off unto thee a man from my sight.*

16. *walk in my law*] In 1 Kin. viii. 25, *walk before me*. The Chronicler characteristically introduces a reference to the Law of the Lord (the *tōrah*). In Samuel and Kings neither David nor Solomon ever mentions this.

18. *dwell with men*] The words, *with men*, are absent from the Heb. text of 1 Kings, but appear in LXX. (A and B). Their presence helps to spiritualize the idea of God "dwelling on the earth." The Peshitta (the Syriac translation of the Bible) still further limits the sense and translates: *cause his Shekinah to dwell with* (al. *rest upon*) *his people Israel*.

19. *prayer...and...supplication*] "Supplication" as distinguished from "prayer" is *prayer for favour*.

20. *which thy servant shall pray*] Solomon refers in this verse to future prayers, not (as in ver. 19) to the prayer he is now praying.

21. *from thy dwelling place, even from heaven*] Here, as in ver. 18,

22 forgive. [1]If a man sin against his neighbour, and an oath
be laid upon him to cause him to swear, and he come *and*
23 swear before thine altar in this house: then hear thou from
heaven, and do, and judge thy servants, requiting the
wicked, to bring his way upon his own head; and justifying
the righteous, to give him according to his righteousness.
24 And if thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy,
because they have sinned against thee; and shall turn again
and confess thy name, and pray and make supplication
25 before thee in this house: then hear thou from heaven, and
forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again
unto the land which thou gavest to them and to their
26 fathers. When the heaven is shut up, and there is no rain,
because they have sinned against thee; if they pray toward
this place, and confess thy name, and turn from their sin,
27 [2]when thou [3]dost afflict them: then hear thou in heaven,
and forgive the sin of thy servants, and of thy people
Israel, [2]when thou teachest them the good way wherein
they should walk; and send rain upon thy land, which
28 thou hast given to thy people for an inheritance. If there
be in the land famine, if there be pestilence, if there be
blasting or mildew, locust or caterpiller; if their enemies
besiege them in the land of their [4]cities; whatsoever plague

[1] Or, *Whereinsoever a man shall sin* [2] Or, *because*
[3] Or, *answerest* [4] Heb. *gates.*

Solomon refuses to regard the Temple as Jehovah's "dwelling place." Cp. ii. 6.

22. *and an oath be laid upon him*] Cp. Ex. xxii. 11. When an accused man attests his innocence before the altar of the Temple either by invoking on himself a curse (the *oath of ordeal*) or by allowing the priest to invoke one upon him, then may Jehovah judge the matter, allowing the innocent to escape unharmed from the ordeal, and fulfilling the curse against the guilty!

24. *and shall turn again*] i.e. repent.

28. *blasting*] The phrase applies to the damage to vegetation in Palestine which is caused by the winds that blow in from the deserts to the east and south (see Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 67). Such winds are spoken of as coming from the east (Gen. xli. 6; Hos. xiii. 15) or from the south (Luke xii. 55).

caterpiller] Rather some kind of locust; see Driver on Joel i. 4.

in the land of their cities] lit. *in the land of their gates.* The text is

or whatsoever sickness there be; what prayer and supplica- 29
tion soever be made by any man, or by all thy people
Israel, which shall know every man his own plague and his
own sorrow, and shall spread forth his hands toward this
house: then hear thou from heaven thy dwelling place, and 30
forgive, and render unto every man according to all his
ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou, even thou only,
knowest the hearts of the children of men;) that they may 31
fear thee, to walk in thy ways, so long as they live in the
land which thou gavest unto our fathers. Moreover con- 32
cerning the stranger, that is not of thy people Israel, when
he shall come from a far country for thy great name's sake,
and thy mighty hand, and thy stretched out arm; when
they shall come and pray toward this house: then hear 33
thou from heaven, even from thy dwelling place, and do
according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for; that
all the peoples of the earth may know thy name, and fear
thee, as doth thy people Israel, and that they may know
that [1]this house which I have built is called by thy name.
If thy people go out to battle against their enemies, by 34
whatsoever way thou shalt send them, and they pray unto
thee toward this city which thou hast chosen, and the
house which I have built for thy name: then hear thou 35
from heaven their prayer and their supplication, and
maintain their [2]cause. If they sin against thee, (for there 36
is no man that sinneth not,) and thou be angry with them,
and deliver them to the enemy, so that [3]they carry them
away captive unto a land far off or near; yet if they shall 37
bethink themselves in the land whither they are carried

[1] Or, *thy name is called upon this house &c.* [2] Or, *right* [3] Heb. *they that take them captive carry them away.*

probably corrupt: read either, **in any one of their cities** (cp. LXX.), or, **by making a breach in their gates** (Heb. *biphērōṣ* for *b'ereṣ*).

whatsoever plague] "Plague" is used here in the general sense of *calamity*, as in the phrase, "The Ten Plagues of Egypt."

32, 33. Cp. Is. lvi. 6 f. (also a post-exilic passage) where it is also said that the stranger must "keep the sabbath from profaning it and hold fast by my covenant" before he can hope to be heard by Jehovah.

35. *maintain their cause*] Render with mg., **maintain their right.**

36. *there is no man that sinneth not*] Cp. Eccl. vii. 20.

captive, and turn again, and make supplication unto thee in
the land of their captivity, saying, We have sinned, we have
38 done perversely, and have dealt wickedly; if they return
unto thee with all their heart and with all their soul in the
land of their captivity, whither they have carried them
captive, and pray toward their land, which thou gavest unto
their fathers, and the city which thou hast chosen, and
39 toward the house which I have built for thy name: then
hear thou from heaven, even from thy dwelling place, their
prayer and their supplications, and maintain their [1]cause;
and forgive thy people which have sinned against thee.
40 Now, O my God, let, I beseech thee, thine eyes be open,
and let thine ears be attent, unto the prayer that is made in
41 this place. Now therefore arise, O LORD God, into thy
resting place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy
priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let
42 thy saints rejoice in [2]goodness. O LORD God, turn not

[1] Or, *right* [2] Or, *good*

38. *if they return*] Cp. Lev. xxvi. 39—41; Deut. xxx. 1, 2 (passages anticipating captivity and also repentance in captivity).

39. *their cause*] Render with mg., **their right** (as in ver. 35).

40—42 (no parallel in 1 Kings). THE INVOCATION.

The end of the prayer in 1 Kin. viii. 51—53 is quite different, and less effective.

40. *attent*] i.e. attentive. Cp. vii. 15 (the same English word for the same Heb. word).

41. *Now therefore arise*] This whole ver. corresponds (with some variation of reading) with vv. 8, 9 of Psalm cxxxii. For the invocation to arise, cp. Num. x. 35, the ancient chant of the Ark.

the ark of thy strength] This appellation of the Ark refers to its use in war; cp. 1 Sam. iv. 3, 6, 7.

with salvation] i.e. with victory. In Ps. cxxxii. 9, *with righteousness*. The thought in Chron. and in Ps. cxxxii. is the same, for through victory the human victor receives *salvation* (i.e. deliverance from the enemy), and the Divine Giver of victory asserts His *righteousness* (i.e. by giving victory to the right).

thy saints] i.e. thy people Israel regarded as faithful worshippers of Jehovah; cp. Ps. lxxix. 2, cxlix. 5. So in the N.T. the Christians as a body are spoken of as "saints" and "sanctified."

rejoice in goodness] Render (with mg.), **rejoice in good**, i.e. in prosperity. In Ps. cxxxii. 9, *shout for joy*.

42. *turn not away*] Cp. Ps. cxxxii. 10.

away the face of thine anointed: remember the [1]mercies of David thy servant.

Now when Solomon had made an end of praying, 7
the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering and the sacrifices; and the glory of the LORD filled the house. And the priests could not enter 2
into the house of the LORD, because the glory of the LORD filled the LORD'S house. And all the children of Israel 3
looked on, when the fire came down, and the glory of the LORD was upon the house; and they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipped, and gave thanks unto the LORD, *saying*, For he is good; for his mercy *endureth* for ever. Then the king 4
and all the people offered sacrifice before the LORD. And 5
king Solomon offered a sacrifice of twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep. So the king and all the people dedicated the house of God. And 6
the priests stood, according to their offices; the Levites also

[1] Or, *good deeds* See ch. xxxii. 32.

remember the mercies of David] i.e. *either* show David's son the mercies thou didst show to David himself (Is. lv. 3), *or* (as mg.), remember the good deeds, or "mercies" (so also xxxii. 32), which David did, and reward his son.

CH. VII. 1—3 (not in 1 Kings). THE SACRIFICES CONSUMED BY FIRE FROM HEAVEN.

1. *the fire came down from heaven*] As the discovery of the spot, approved by Jehovah, for the site of the Temple was ratified by the sign of fire from heaven (see 1 Chr. xxi. 26, note), so tradition or the Chronicler thought that the conclusion of the dedication must have been marked by the same sign of Divine favour.
consumed the burnt offering] Cp. Lev. ix. 24; 1 Kin. xviii. 38.
2. *the priests could not enter*] Cp. v. 14.

4—10 (= 1 Kin. viii. 62—66). THE GREAT FEAST OF DEDICATION.

5. *twenty and two thousand oxen, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep*] These high numbers appear also in 1 Kings.
6. This verse, which is characteristic of the Chronicler, does not appear in 1 Kings.

with instruments [1]of music of the LORD, which David the king had made to give thanks unto the LORD, for his mercy *endureth* for ever, when David praised by their ministry: and the priests sounded trumpets before them; and all
7 Israel stood. Moreover Solomon hallowed the middle of the court that was before the house of the LORD; for there he offered the burnt offerings, and the fat of the peace offerings: because the brasen altar which Solomon had made was not able to receive the burnt offering, and the
8 meal offering, and the fat. So Solomon held the feast at that time seven days, and all Israel with him, a very great congregation, from the entering in of Hamath unto the
9 brook of Egypt. And on the eighth day they held a [2]solemn assembly: for they kept the dedication of the altar
10 seven days, and the feast seven days. And on the three

[1] Or, *for the song of the* LORD [2] Or, *closing festival*

instruments of music of the LORD] mg., **instruments for the song of the LORD**. Cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 5; Amos vi. 5.

the priests sounded trumpets] Cp. v. 12.

7. *the fat*] Specially mentioned as the choice part of the sacrificial victim, a part never to be eaten but always to be burnt. Lev. iii. 16, 17.

peace offerings] See note on 1 Chr. xvi. 1.

the brasen altar which Solomon had made] Cp. iv. 1; 1 Kin. ix. 25.

meal offering] an offering consisting of fine flour mixed with oil and frankincense. Cp. Lev. ii. 1—7.

8. *the feast*] i.e. the Feast of Tabernacles (see note below on *seven days...*, ver. 9).

from the entering in of Hamath] See note on 1 Chr. xiii. 5.

the brook of Egypt] i.e. not the Nile, but the stream called *Shihor of Egypt* in 1 Chr. xiii. 5 (see note).

9. *a solemn assembly*] mg., **a closing festival**. In the later stage of ritual, which is represented in the Priestly Code, an eighth day, to be observed as an holy assembly, was added to the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev. xxiii. 36; Num. xxix. 35). The earlier custom terminated the festival on the seventh day, and the people went away on the eighth (Deut. xvi. 13, 15).

seven days, and...seven days] Cp. 1 Kin. viii. 65, 66. The *original* text in Kings agreed with the earlier custom referred to in the previous note, the people being dismissed on the eighth day after observing the seven days Feast of Tabernacles. The evidence of the LXX. and also the opening words of ver. 66 put it beyond doubt that in the present text of Kings the words *and seven days, even fourteen days* are a late addition due probably to the influence of the statement in Chron. The

and twentieth day of the seventh month he sent the people away unto their tents, joyful and glad of heart for the goodness that the LORD had shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel his people.

Thus Solomon finished the house of the LORD, and the 11
king's house: and all that came into Solomon's heart to make in the house of the LORD, and in his own house, he prosperously effected. And the LORD appeared to Solomon 12
by night, and said unto him, I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to myself for an house of sacrifice. If I shut up heaven that there be no rain, or if I command 13
the locust to devour the land, or if I send pestilence among my people; if my people, [1]which are called by my name, 14
shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land. Now mine 15
eyes shall be open, and mine ears attent, unto the prayer that is made in this place. For now have I chosen and 16

[1] Heb. *upon whom my name is called.*

Chronicler, or the tradition he follows, did not deem it fitting that there should be no special festival for the dedication of the Temple. His statement of events is therefore: a seven days Dedication Feast (from the 8th to the 14th of the month), followed by the Feast of Tabernacles, seven days *plus* one day of holy assembly (from the 15th to the 22nd); and finally on the 23rd of the month the dismissal of the people to their homes (see ver. 10).

10. *unto their tents*] The Hebrew word (*ōhel*) here approaches in meaning the corresponding Arabic word (*ahl*), which denotes *household* or *one's own people*, e g. in the phrase *ahlu 'linjil*, "the household of the Gospel," i.e. "the Christians," a phrase found in the Koran. Cp. x. 16, xxv. 22.

11—22 (=1 Kin. ix. 1—9). THE NIGHT VISION IN ANSWER TO SOLOMON'S PRAYER.

12. *appeared...by night*] Cp. i. 7.
an house of sacrifice] Cp. ii. 6.

13—15. These vv. have no parallel in 1 Kings ix. 1—9, but are closely modelled upon the language of Solomon's prayer in vi. 26—28, 40.

13. *to devour the land*] LXX. *to devour the trees*; cp. Ex. x. 15; Joel i. 6, 7.

15. *Now...in this place*] Cp. vi. 40.

hallowed this house, that my name may be there for ever: and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually.
17 And as for thee, if thou wilt walk before me as David thy father walked, and do according to all that I have commanded thee, and wilt keep my statutes and my judgements;
18 then I will establish the throne of thy kingdom, according as I covenanted with David thy father, saying, There shall not
19 fail thee a man to be ruler in Israel. But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments which I have set before you, and shall go and serve other gods, and
20 worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them; and this house, which I have hallowed for my name, will I cast out of my sight, and I will make it a proverb and a byword among all
21 peoples. And this house, which is so high, every one that passeth by it shall be astonished, and shall say, Why hath the LORD done thus unto this land, and to this house?
22 And they shall answer, Because they forsook the LORD, the God of their fathers, which brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them: therefore hath he brought all this evil upon them.

8 And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the house of the LORD, and his own
2 house, that the cities which Huram had given to Solomon,

16. *for ever*] Cp. xxx. 8.

21. *which is so high*] The Heb. must be rendered by a past tense, **which was high**—as though the speaker spoke from a later standpoint than the age of Solomon. That interpretation, however, is clumsy; and in all probability the reading in Chron. is simply an attempt to improve an erroneous text in Kings. There the original reading probably was "and this house *shall become ruins*; every one who passes by," etc.

22. *they shall answer*] Render, **men shall say.**

CH. VIII. **1—6** (cp. 1 Kin. ix. 10, 11, 17—19). SOLOMON'S CITIES.

1. *twenty years*] Cp. 1 Kin. vi. 38, vii. 1.

2. *the cities which Huram had given to Solomon*] According to 1 Kin. ix. 12, 13 it was Solomon who gave *Huram* cities. Huram however was not pleased with them (*ibid.*), and from this fact the English translators

Solomon built them, and caused the children of Israel to dwell there.

And Solomon went to Hamath-zobah, and prevailed against it. And he built Tadmor in the wilderness, and all the store cities, which he built in Hamath. Also he built Beth-horon the upper, and Beth-horon the nether, fenced

of 1611 concluded that Huram rejected them and "restored" them. No reconciliation of these different versions is tenable; and it is to be supposed that the Chronicler's tradition is unhistorical—the idea that the wealthy Solomon could not or did not purchase what he required from Huram except by parting with a portion of the territories of Israel was repugnant, if not incredible, in the Chronicler's day.

built them] i.e. fortified them.

3. *Hamath-zobah*] The two kingdoms of Hamath and Zobah are distinguished from one another (1 Chr. xviii. 3, 9 = 2 Sam. viii. 3, 9), Hamath apparently being north of Zobah. It is probable however that *Hamath* as the name of a city belonged to more than one place, and Hamath-zobah may be a southern namesake of the well-known Hamath the great (Amos vi. 2).

prevailed against it] No mention of this campaign is made elsewhere. It may be a genuine tradition preserved only in Chron. On the other hand, this statement and the reference to the store-cities *built in Hamath* (ver. 4) may be due to nothing except the mention of *Tadmor in the wilderness* (itself an error, see following note). If Solomon built far-off Tadmor, then (the Chronicler thinks) he must also have subdued the region of Hamath.

4. *Tadmor in the wilderness*] Palmyra (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 344) is meant, a city on an oasis N.E. of Damascus half-way between Damascus and the Euphrates. Apart from this passage of Chron. it first appears in history in B.C. 34, when it was threatened with attack by Mark Antony. This silence of history for a thousand years casts a doubt on the belief that Tadmor (Palmyra) is as old as the time of Solomon, and the doubt is strengthened by a reference to the parallel passage (1 Kin. ix. 18), for there (1) the text (*Kethīb*) has "Tamar," with "Tadmor" as marginal reading (*Kerī*), and (2) Tamar (Tadmor) is associated with Gezer, Beth-horon, and Baalath, cities either in Judah or on its borders. Probably therefore the marginal reading "Tadmor" in 1 Kin. is due to the influence of 2 Chr., and the text of 1 Kin. ("Tamar") is correct. The city built by Solomon was a Tamar in the south of Judah.

5. *Beth-horon the upper*] Not mentioned in the parallel passage (1 Kin. ix. 17) which however has Gezer. The site of Gezer has recently been explored with extremely interesting results (see e.g. Macalister, *Bible Side-lights from the Mound of Gezer*). The Chronicler probably omits the name of Gezer, because he had no liking for the tradition that Solomon married a daughter of Pharaoh (a heinous sin in the eyes of

6 cities, with walls, gates, and bars; and Baalath, and all the
store cities that Solomon had, and all the cities for his
chariots, and the cities for his horsemen, and all that
Solomon desired to build for his pleasure in Jerusalem,
7 and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion. As
for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the
Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the
8 Jebusites, which were not of Israel; of their children that
were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel
consumed not, of them did Solomon raise a levy *of bond-*
9 *servants*, unto this day. But of the children of Israel did
Solomon make no servants for his work; but they were men
of war, and chief of his captains, and rulers of his chariots
10 and of his horsemen. And these were the chief officers
of king Solomon, even two hundred and fifty, that bare rule
11 over the people. And Solomon brought up the daughter of
Pharaoh out of the city of David unto the house that he

the Chronicler's contemporaries), and according to 1 Kin. ix. 16 Gezer was presented to Solomon by the Pharaoh as the dowry of his daughter.

6. *Baalath*] A city in the tribe of (the southern) Dan not far from Gezer and Beth-horon (1 Kin. ix. 18).

cities for his chariots] See note on i. 14.

7—10 (= 1 Kin. ix. 20—23). SOLOMON'S TASK-WORKERS.

7. *Hittites...Jebusites*] See notes on 1 Chr. i. 13—15.

8. *consumed not*] But in Kings, *were not able to consume*, a displeasing remark, which the Chronicler therefore softened down.

a levy of bondservants] Cp. the notes on ii. 2, 17.

9. *and chief of his captains*] Read (with 1 Kin. ix. 22) **and his princes and his captains**. The statements of this verse must be read in connection with 1 Kin. v. 13 ff., xii. 4 ff., whence it appears that, though Solomon did not actually reduce any Israelite to permanent slavery, yet he imposed upon his own people a corvée which was felt to be very burdensome.

10. *And these were the chief*] After this preface (cp. 1 Kin. ix. 23) we expect both here and in 1 Kin. a list of these persons; cp. 1 Chr. xi. 10 ff., xii. 1 ff. Possibly the text of 1 Kin. suffered at an early date, and the list was missing when the Chronicler wrote.

two hundred and fifty] According to 1 Kin. ix. 23, *five hundred and fifty*. On the other hand the *under*-overseers are reckoned at three thousand six hundred in 2 Chr. ii. 18 as against three thousand three hundred in 1 Kin. v. 16. The total number therefore of overseers of all kinds is given both in 1 Kin. and 2 Chr. as 3850.

had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David king of Israel, because [1]the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the LORD hath come.

Then Solomon offered burnt offerings unto the LORD on 12
the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the porch,
even as the duty of every day required, offering according to 13
the commandment of Moses, on the sabbaths, and on the
new moons, and on the set feasts, three times in the year,
even in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of
weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles. And he appointed, 14
according to the ordinance of David his father, the courses
of the priests to their service, and the Levites to their charges,
to praise, and to minister before the priests, as the duty of
every day required: the doorkeepers also by their courses
at every gate: for so had David the man of God commanded.

[1] Heb. *they are.*

11 (=1 Kin. ix. 24). THE HOUSE OF PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.

11. *for he said, My wife*, etc.] These words are an addition by the Chronicler. In 1 Kin. iii. 1 it is said simply that Solomon brought Pharaoh's daughter into the city of David until his own house was finished.

My wife shall not dwell] Render, **No wife of mine shall dwell.**

12—16 (cp. 1 Kin. ix. 25). SOLOMON'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TEMPLE WORSHIP.

This paragraph is in the main an expansion of 1 Kin. ix. 25.

12. *on the altar of the LORD, which he had built before the porch*] This refers to the great brasen altar of burnt-offering (iv. 1). In 1 Kin. the statement is that *Solomon burnt incense upon the altar that* was *before the LORD* (referring to the altar of incense; cp. Ex. xxx. 1—10). Such an act, according to the Chronicler, was of the nature of trespass, being punished in the case of Uzziah with leprosy (xxvi. 16), and was therefore not to be attributed to so great a king as Solomon.

13. *on the sabbaths, and on the new moons*] The writer in Kings confines Solomon's sacrificial duties to *three times in the year*, i.e. on the three great feasts specified at the end of this verse. The Chronicler adds the weekly and monthly festivals, in conformity with the developed ritual of the Priestly Code.

14. *of David*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiv.—xxvi.

to praise, and to minister before the priests] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 28.

David the man of God] Targ. *David the prophet of the Lord* (a correct paraphrase). Cp. Neh. xii. 36.

15 And they departed not from the commandment of the king
unto the priests and Levites concerning any matter, or con-
16 cerning the treasures. Now all the work of Solomon was
prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the
LORD, and until it was finished. *So* the house of the LORD
was perfected.
17 Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth, on the
18 sea shore in the land of Edom. And Huram sent him by
the hands of his servants ships, and servants that had know-
ledge of the sea; and they came with the servants of Solomon
to Ophir, and fetched from thence four hundred and fifty
talents of gold, and brought them to king Solomon.
9 And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of

16. *Now all the work of Solomon was prepared*] Render, **So all the work of Solomon was established.**

unto the day...was perfected] LXX. offers a much shorter and smoother text, *from the day on which it was founded until Solomon perfected the house of the* LORD. This reading is probably right.

17, 18 (=1 Kin. ix. 26—28). SOLOMON'S FLEET.

17. *to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth*] In 1 Kin. *Ezion-geber which is beside Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea.* Strictly speaking it was at the head of the Gulf of Akaba, the eastern arm of the Red Sea. Cp. xx. 36 and Deut. ii. 8.

18. *sent him by the hands of his servants ships*] The words would seem to imply that Huram had ships transported overland from the Phoenician coast to the Gulf of Akaba! Either the Chronicler has phrased the matter carelessly, or perhaps the text should be altered to conform with Kings, where it is merely said that Solomon built ships in Ezion-geber—probably with the help of Huram—and that Huram helped to man them.

Ophir] The situation of this oft-mentioned place is not known. It has been identified with some part of the coast (*a*) of India, (*b*) of Africa, (*c*) of Arabia. The last identification is the most probable; Ophir appears as the name of an Arabian tribe (Gen. x. 29). The name is variously written in the LXX. but usually with an initial "S," *Sophir*(*a*), which has been supposed to refer to India.

four hundred and fifty talents] So LXX., but in 1 Kin. "four hundred and twenty" (so Heb., in LXX. B "a hundred and twenty").

CH. IX. **1—12** (=1 Kin. x. 1—13). THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA.

1. *Sheba*] An important district in Arabia Felix, the seat of a kingdom. See notes on 1 Chr. i. 9, 32; also Barnes on 1 Kin. x. 1.

Solomon, she came to prove Solomon with hard questions at Jerusalem, with a very great train, and camels that bare spices, and gold in abundance, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her 2
questions: and there was not any thing hid from Solomon which he told her not. And when the queen of Sheba had 3
seen the wisdom of Solomon, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and 4
the [1]attendance of his ministers, and their apparel; his cupbearers also, and their apparel; and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report 5
that I heard in mine own land of thine [2]acts, and of thy wisdom. Howbeit I believed not their words, until I came, 6
and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me: thou exceedest the fame that I heard. Happy are thy men, and happy are 7
these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the LORD thy God, which 8
delighted in thee, to set thee on his throne, to be king for the LORD thy God: because thy God loved Israel, to establish them for ever, therefore made he thee king over

[1] Heb. *standing.* [2] Or, *sayings*

hard questions] Heb. *hidoth*, "dark sayings" (Prov. i. 6); the sing. is translated "riddle" (Judg. xiv. 12—18).

4. *and their apparel*] The phrase is repeated probably through an error of transcription; it occurs once only in the parallel place in 1 Kin.

his ascent by which he went up] Render (if the text be sound), **his manner of going up**, i.e. the pomp with which he went up (so Targ.); but it is better, with LXX. and Pesh., to read *the burnt offerings which he used to offer*, a rendering which is right in 1 Kin. x. 5 (cp. R.V. mg.). The difference of reading between Chron. and 1 Kin. in the Heb. is slight.

5. *of thine acts*] Lit. *of thy matters*; the reference is quite general.

6. *the greatness of thy wisdom*] Cp. 1 Kin. x. 7, "thy wisdom *and prosperity.*"

8. *on his throne*] To the Chronicler the Israelite throne belongs to *God*; the visible king occupies it only as a deputy. Cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 5, "the throne of the kingdom of the LORD"; *ibid.* xxix. 23, "Solomon sat on the throne of the LORD." Contrast 1 Kin. x. 9.

9 them, to do judgement and justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and spices in great abundance, and precious stones: neither was there any such spice as the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon.
10 And the servants also of Huram, and the servants of Solomon, which brought gold from Ophir, brought [1]algum
11 trees and precious stones. And the king made of the algum trees terraces for the house of the LORD, and for the king's house, and harps and psalteries for the singers: and there were none such seen before in the land of Judah.
12 And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which she had brought unto the king. So she turned, and went to her own land, she and her servants.
13 Now the weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and threescore and six talents of gold;
14 beside that which the chapmen and merchants brought: and

[1] In 1 Kings x. 11, *almug trees*.

9. *an hundred and twenty talents of gold*] A sum so large must be regarded rather as *tribute* than as a complimentary gift.

any such spice] i.e. as in 1 Kin. "such *abundance* of spices."

10, 11. These vv. interrupt the connection in Kings as in Chron. They are an interpolation. Ver. 12 concludes the account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba.

10. *algum trees*] In 1 Kin. "*almug* trees." Cp. ii. 8 (note).

11. *terraces*] Perhaps "raised paths." In 1 Kin. x. 12 a different Heb. word is used, which may mean "railings" ("pillars," A.V.).

psalteries] Cp. 1 Chr. xiii. 8 (note).

in the land of Judah] Here the Chronicler speaks as a man of his own age. We should expect, *land of Israel*.

12. *beside that which she had brought unto the king*] This means that the king beside returning the queen the value of her present to him, also gave her additional gifts; cp. 1 Kin. x. 13.

13–28 (= 1 Kin. x. 14–27). SOLOMON'S GREATNESS.

13. *six hundred and threescore and six*] This may be called a "round" number, for a system of counting based on the number *six* was known in ancient times, e.g. among the Assyrians. Taken literally, the amount, which would be equal to about £4,000,000 and of course of vastly greater purchasing power than the same sum to-day, is fantastically large. For similar high figures, cp. 1 Chr. xxii. 14 (note).

14. *chapmen*] The English word means "merchant"; cp. the verb,

all the kings of Arabia and the governors of the country brought gold and silver to Solomon. And king Solomon 15
made two hundred targets of beaten gold: six hundred *shekels* of beaten gold went to one target. And *he made* 16
three hundred shields of beaten gold; three hundred *shekels* of gold went to one shield: and the king put them in the house of the forest of Lebanon. Moreover the king made 17
a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with pure gold. And 18
there were six steps to the throne, with a footstool of gold, which were fastened to the throne, and [1]stays on either side by the place of the seat, and two lions standing beside the stays. And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on 19
the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom. And all king Solomon's drinking vessels 20
were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold: silver was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon. For the king had ships that 21
went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram: once every

[1] Or, *arms* Heb. *hands*.

"to chaffer" and the German "Kaufmann." The Heb. word means lit. "those who go about" as merchants.

governors] Heb. *pahoth* (plural of *pehah*; cp. "Pasha"), a word applied specially to governors of provinces of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires. Presumably governors outside the land of Israel are here meant.

15. *targets*] Heb. *ṣinnah*, a word meaning a large shield; cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 7. On the other hand in ver. 16 (Heb. *māgēn*) small shields are meant. The English renderings should be transposed so as to read "shields" in ver. 15 and "targets" in ver. 16.

six hundred shekels] About 21 lbs. avoirdupois.

went to one target] Render (also in ver. 16) **were spread upon one target.**

16. *shields*] See note on ver. 15.

the house of the forest of Lebanon] So called probably because it was built of cedar of Lebanon (1 Kin. vii. 2). It was in Jerusalem and seems to have existed as late as the time of Isaiah (Is. xxii. 8) when it was in use as an armoury.

18. *with a footstool of gold, which were fastened to the throne*] A quite different detail takes the place of this in 1 Kin. x. 19, *and the top of the throne was round behind*. Perhaps both details were found in the original text of Kings.

21. *For the king had ships that went to Tarshish*] Here the

three years came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold, and
22 silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks. So king Solomon
exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches and wisdom.
23 And all the kings of the earth sought the presence of
Solomon, to hear his wisdom, which God had put in his
24 heart. And they brought every man his present, vessels of
silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, armour, and spices,
25 horses, and mules, a rate year by year. And Solomon had
four thousand stalls for horses and chariots, and twelve
thousand horsemen, which he bestowed in the chariot cities,
26 and with the king at Jerusalem. And he ruled over all the
kings from the River even unto the land of the Philistines,

Chronicler misunderstands the parallel passage (1 Kin. x. 22, "For the king had at sea *a navy of Tarshish*"). "Navy (or 'ships') of Tarshish" (cp. Ps. xlviii. 7) is a phrase meaning *large ships fit for long voyages*; i.e. such as were the vessels used by the Phoenicians in trading with Tarshish (i.e. Tartessus in Spain). We may well compare the use of the title "Indiaman," for that term came to be used generally of large trading vessels besides those actually trading with India. The merchandise mentioned in this verse doubtless came from the East and not from Tarshish.

apes] These animals were much sought after; they appear pictured in relief on the Black Obelisk (in the British Museum) among the tribute received by Shalmaneser II of Assyria.

24. *his present*] i.e. his tribute.

armour] A less probable rendering is στακτὴ ("oil of myrrh") LXX. (here and in Kings); also "myrrh," Pesh. of 2 Chr.

25—28. Cp. i. 14—17.

25. *four thousand stalls for horses and chariots*] In the parallel passage (1 Kin. iv. 26 = v. 6, Heb.), *forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots*. Cp. also i. 14 (= 1 Kin. x. 26) where 1400 stalls of horses for chariots are ascribed to Solomon. This number is much more likely to correspond with fact, but that does not affect the probability that the Chronicler would find no difficulty in crediting Solomon with possessing 4000 or even 40,000, especially at the close of his reign. The meaning of the word rendered "stalls" is quite uncertain: it may mean "pair."

twelve thousand horsemen] So 1 Kin. iv. 26 (v. 6, Heb.); and 2 Chr. i. 14 (= 1 Kin. x. 26).

chariot cities] See note on i. 14.

26. *from the River*] i.e. the Euphrates.

even unto the land of the Philistines] The Philistines, it is implied, were able to maintain their independence.

and to the border of Egypt. And the king made silver to 27
be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he to be as the
sycomore trees that are in the lowland, for abundance. And 28
they brought horses for Solomon out of Egypt, and out of
all lands.

Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are 29
they not written in the [1]history of Nathan the prophet, and
in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions
of [2]Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?
And Solomon reigned in Jerusalem over all Israel forty 30
years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and he was 31
buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his
son reigned in his stead.

And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were 10

[1] Heb. *words*. [2] Heb. *Jedai*, or, *Jedo*.

27. *cedars*] Rather, **cedar wood**.

sycomore] i.e. the fig-mulberry, not now a common tree in Palestine; cp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 28, note.

the lowland] (Heb. *Shephelah*). See G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, Chap. x. "The Shephelah," and the note on i. 15.

28. *And they brought*, etc.] Cp. i. 16, 17.

29—31 (=1 Kin. xi. 41—43). THE EPILOGUE.

An important section of 1 Kin. (xi. 1—40) giving an account of Solomon's patronage of idolatry and of the troubles of his reign is significantly omitted by the Chronicler: see the note on 1 Chr. xxix. 25, p. 168. For the authorities to which the Chronicler appeals in these verses, see Introd. § 5.

29. *the history of Nathan*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 29.

Ahijah the Shilonite] 1 Kin. xi. 29, xiv. 2 ff.

Iddo] Heb. *Jedai* or *Jedo* (probably a misspelling); cp. xii. 15.

30. *forty years*] The number is a round number; cp. Judg. iii. 30, v. 31, viii. 28, xiii. 1.

31. *slept with his fathers*] This formula is not used of David (1 Chr. xxix. 28), doubtless because David's father was not a king!

in the city of David] 1 Chr. xi. 7.

CHAPTERS X.—XXXVI. THE HISTORY OF JUDAH FROM REHOBOAM TO THE EXILE.

CH. X. 1—15 (=1 Kin. xii. 1—15). THE CONFERENCE AT SHECHEM.

1. *Shechem*] Chosen by Rehoboam for its central position, for it is in the heart of Western Palestine between Mt Ebal and Mt Gerizim.

2 come to Shechem to make him king. And it came to pass,
when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it, (for he was
in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of king
3 Solomon,) that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt. And they
sent and called him; and Jeroboam and all Israel came,
4 and they spake to Rehoboam, saying, Thy father made
our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous
service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon
5 us, lighter, and we will serve thee. And he said unto them,
Come again unto me after three days. And the people
6 departed. And king Rehoboam took counsel with the old
men, that had stood before Solomon his father while he yet
lived, saying, What counsel give ye me to return answer to
7 this people? And they spake unto him, saying, If thou be
kind to this people, and please them, and speak good words
8 to them, then they will be thy servants for ever. But he
forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given
him, and took counsel with the young men that were grown
9 up with him, that stood before him. And he said unto them,
What counsel give ye, that we may return answer to this
people, who have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke that
10 thy father did put upon us lighter? And the young men
that were grown up with him spake unto him, saying, Thus

2. *Jeroboam*] For his antecedents (which are not given by the Chronicler) see 1 Kin. xi. 26 ff.

that Jeroboam returned out of Egypt] So we should read also in 1 Kin. xii. 2 for "and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt." The difference in Heb. between the two readings when written without the vowels is confined to one letter, ם instead of נ.

4. *the grievous service of thy father*] The "service" complained of is described (in part) in 1 Kin. v. 13, 14 (no parallel in Chron.). Cp. viii. 9 (=1 Kin. ix. 22), note.

and we will serve thee] The people claim their ancient right to a voice in the appointment of a king; cp. 1 Sam. xi. 14, 15 (Saul) and 2 Sam. v. 1—3 (David).

6. *stood before*] Cp. Deut. i. 38; 1 Kin. xvii. 1. The phrase is used to express service, whether rendered to God or to man.

7. *If thou be kind to this people, and please them*] The Chronicler has softened the forcible words of the parallel passage (1 Kin. xii. 7), "If thou wilt be a *servant* unto this people this day, and wilt *serve* them." The words which were too blunt for Rehoboam were also too blunt for the Chronicler.

shalt thou say unto the people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us; thus shalt thou say unto them, My little finger is thicker than my father's loins. And now whereas my father 11 did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions. So Jeroboam and all the people came to 12 Rehoboam the third day, as the king bade, saying, Come to me again the third day. And the king answered them 13 roughly; and king Rehoboam forsook the counsel of the old men, and spake to them after the counsel of the young 14 men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add thereto: my father chastised you with whips, but I *will chastise you* with scorpions. So the king hearkened not 15 unto the people; for it was brought about of God, that the LORD might establish his word, which he spake by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the son of Nebat. And 16 when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse:

11. *with whips*] A whip or flail was among the insignia of an Egyptian (and perhaps also of an Israelite) king. Cp. Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, Eng. Tr. p. 60 (where an illustration is given) and p. 63.

with scorpions] The expression may be proverbial and metaphorical, but some authorities (e.g. Pesh.) take "scorpion" to be the name of a particular kind of scourge, the lash of which was provided with thorns or hooks.

13. *answered them roughly*] It was difficult for the son of so powerful a king as Solomon to realise that there was any necessity for a soft answer. Solomon had put down Israelite discontent by driving Jeroboam into exile in Egypt, and David had put down somewhat easily the movement under Sheba son of Bichri (2 Sam. xx. 1—22). Could the good fortune of the house of David fail at this third crisis?

15. *Ahijah*] Cp. 1 Kin. xi. 29—39. The incident referred to is not narrated in Chron., being assumed to be known.

16—19 (= 1 Kin. xii. 16—19). THE REVOLT.

16. *What portion have we in David...the son of Jesse*] The same protest was voiced by Sheba in his brief rebellion against David (1 Sam. xx. 1). Contrast the language of the ten tribes after the collapse of Absalom's rebellion: *We have ten parts in the king* (2 Sam. xix. 43).

every man to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own
17 house, David. So all Israel departed unto their tents. But
as for the children of Israel that dwelt in the cities of Judah,
18 Rehoboam reigned over them. Then king Rehoboam sent
Hadoram, who was over the levy; and the children of Israel
stoned him with stones, that he died. And king Rehoboam
made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee to Jerusalem.
19 So Israel rebelled against the house of David, unto this day.
11 And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he as-
sembled the house of Judah and Benjamin, an hundred
and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors,
to fight against Israel, to bring the kingdom again to
2 Rehoboam. But the word of the LORD came to Shemaiah
3 the man of God, saying, Speak unto Rehoboam the son of
Solomon, king of Judah, and to all Israel in Judah and
4 Benjamin, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up,

to your tents] See note on vii. 10.

17. The order is much improved if this verse be read after ver. 19.

18. *Hadoram*] Called "Adoram" in the parallel passage (1 Kin. xii. 18) and "Adoniram" (1 Kin. iv. 6, v. 14 [28, Heb.]).

CH. XI. 1—4 (= 1 Kin. xii. 21—24). SHEMAIAH FORBIDS CIVIL WAR.

The Chronicler here omits the elevation of Jeroboam to be king over Israel (1 Kin. xii. 20).

1. *an hundred and fourscore thousand*] The number is small compared with the Judean armies mentioned in xiii. 3, xiv. 7, xvii. 14; yet it is far greater than is credible. The word rendered *thousand* may originally have been used to denote a tribal division, thus including women and children and old men. If so, the actual warriors represented by 180 such "thousands" would be about 30,000, a very large number for so small a state, yet not impossible. But, however that may be for the early days, there is little or no doubt that the Chronicler understood the word in its strict sense: a literal thousand. See the note on xvii. 14.

2. *Shemaiah*] See xii. 5, 15.

3. *to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin*] The Chronicler does not hesitate to use the term "Israel" in speaking of Judah. Thus the princes of the Southern Kingdom are called "the princes of Israel" (xii. 6, xxi. 4), the populace as a whole is called "Israel" (xii. 1, xv. 17), Jehoshaphat and Ahaz are each called "king of Israel" (xxi. 2, xxviii. 19), and the sepulchres of the kings at Jerusalem are called the "sepulchres of the kings of Israel" (xxviii. 27). *Israel* in Chron. then

nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me. So they hearkened unto the words of the LORD, and returned from going against Jeroboam. And Rehoboam dwelt in Jerusalem, and built 5 cities for defence in Judah. He built even Beth-lehem, and 6 Etam, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur, and Soco, and Adullam, 7 and Gath, and Mareshah, and Ziph, and Adoraim, and 8, 9 Lachish, and Azekah, and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron, 10

=the covenant-people. In Kings, on the contrary, *Israel* generally means the Northern Kingdom.

5—23. THE PROSPERITY OF REHOBOAM.

These verses have no corresponding section in 1 Kin. On the other hand, the Chronicler omits three important sections of 1 Kin., *viz.* xii. 25—33 (the setting up of the golden calves), xiii. 1—32 (the episode of the prophet who cried against the altar in Beth-el) and xiv. 1—18 (the death of the son of Jeroboam).

5. *built cities for defence*] This does not mean that all these cities were then built for the first time; certainly Beth-lehem, Tekoa, and Hebron were ancient places. Rebuilding, strengthening, and fortifying are included in the meaning of the Hebrew verb *bānāh* = *build*. The cities mentioned were situated some in the hill country of Judah, some in the Shephelah. It is probable that they were strengthened as a measure of defence against Egypt. Less likely is the suggestion that they were fortified chiefly to prevent or suppress insurrection against Rehoboam in Judah. See also Introd. § 7, p. xlviii.

6. *Etam*] Probably represented by some ruins a little to the S.W. of Beth-lehem, by which is a spring called *Ain 'Atān*. Cp. 1 Chr. iv. 3. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 109.

7. *Beth-zur*] Represented by the ruin *Burj Ṣūr* to the north of Hebron. Cp. Josh. xv. 58. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 112.

Soco] The cities hitherto mentioned were situated in the hill country, but the position of the *Soco* here mentioned and *Adullam* is uncertain. Two places bore the name *Soco* or *Socoh*, one situated in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 35; 1 Sam. xvii. 1, R.V.), and one in the hill country ("the mountains," Josh. xv. 48)—see note 1 Chr. iv. 18. For Adullam cp. Josh. xv. 35; 1 Chr. xi. 15 (note on *the cave of Adullam*).

8. *Gath*] Cp. 1 Chr. xviii. 1.

Mareshah] In the Shephelah south of the modern *Beit Jibrin*. Cp. xiv. 9, xx. 37.

Ziph] Probably *Tell Zif* south of Hebron.

9. *Adoraim*] The modern *Dora* west of Hebron.

Azekah] In the Shephelah, mentioned along with Socoh in Josh. xv. 35.

10. *Zorah*] Josh. xv. 33 (R.V.). It was situated in the Shephelah.

11 which are in Judah and in Benjamin, fenced cities. And he
fortified the strong holds, and put captains in them, and store
12 of victual, and oil and wine. And in every several city *he*
put shields and spears, and made them exceeding strong.
13 And Judah and Benjamin belonged to him. And the priests
and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him out of
14 all their border. For the Levites left their suburbs and their
possession, and came to Judah and Jerusalem: for Jeroboam
and his sons cast them off, that they should not execute the
15 priest's office unto the LORD: and he appointed him priests

Aijalon] The modern *Yalo*, a little north of the Jaffa road about midway between Ramleh and Jerusalem. It is an ancient place mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Cp. xxviii. 18 and 1 Chr. vi. 69; also Smith, *Hist. Geog.* pp. 210—213.

and in Benjamin] None of the fifteen cities seems to have been in Benjamin. Zorah and Aijalon were in Dan (Josh. xix. 41, 42, R.V.), while the remaining thirteen were in Judah. Cp. ver. 5.

Benjamin, in reality, belonged to the Northern Kingdom until, after the fall of Samaria, its territory was included in the Judean kingdom (see 1 Kin. xii. 20). Later, the idea prevailed that it had been one with the Southern Kingdom from the beginning—as appears here, and apparently in 1 Kin. xi. 31. At any rate the phrase, Judah and Benjamin, came to be used as a general expression denoting the Southern Kingdom. How long any sense of its partial inaccuracy remained is uncertain.

12. *And Judah and Benjamin belonged to him*] If the view, discussed in the note on ver. 5, that Rehoboam's military precautions were carried through to suppress or prevent rebellion in Judah, then this phrase should be rendered **And so Judah and Benjamin became his.**

13. *resorted to him*] Lit. *took their stand by him.*

14. *suburbs*] See note on 1 Chr. v. 16.

cast them off, that they should not execute the priest's office unto the LORD] The point is in the concluding words "*unto the* LORD" (i.e. *Jehovah*). Jeroboam did not abandon the worship of Jehovah, although later generations thought so and could not conceive that the famous "calves wherewith he made Israel to sin" were images symbolic of Jehovah. The Chronicler regards him as having lapsed into gross idolatry (see ver. 15) and as having ejected all the Levites from his kingdom. A less stringent opinion as to his treatment of the priests of Jehovah is expressed in 1 Kin. xii. 31, xiii. 33 where it is not said that Jeroboam rejected the tribe of Levi, but only that he allowed men of any tribe to become priests; "he...made priests from among all the people" (R.V.). Comparison of Kings and Chron. is here very valuable as an illustration of the care with which the history in Chron. has been adapted to indicate that the Northern Kingdom was wholly wicked and apostate from the start. The Chronicler's hostility

for the high places, and for the [1]he-goats, and for the calves
which he had made. And after them, out of all the tribes 16
of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the LORD, the God
of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice unto the LORD, the
God of their fathers. So they strengthened the kingdom of 17
Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong,
three years: for they walked three years in the way of David
and Solomon. And Rehoboam took him a wife, Mahalath 18
the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David, [2]*and of* Abihail
the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse; and she bare him 19
sons; Jeush, and Shemariah, and Zaham. And after her he 20
took [3]Maacah the daughter of Absalom; and she bare him

[1] Or, *satyrs* See Lev. xvii. 7. [2] Or, and *Abihail*
[3] In ch. xiii. 2, *Micaiah the daughter of Uriel.*

to the North is really directed against the Samaritans: see Introd. § 6.

15. *the he-goats*] The heathen Arabs believed in the existence of demons (called *jinn*) having various animal forms and inhabiting deserted places, and this belief was shared by the Hebrews (cp. Is. xiii. 21). In this verse and in Lev. xvii. 7, the writers seem to identify the gods worshipped by the heathen with these demons. (Cp. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], pp. 120 ff.)

the calves] Not previously mentioned in Chron.; 1 Kin. xii. 28.

17. *three years*] There were three years of prosperity, in the fourth year Judah fell away into idolatry, and in the fifth year chastisement overtook them by the hand of Shishak (xii. 1—3). For the significance of this, see the note on xii. 14.

of David and Solomon] The Chronicler here as elsewhere ignores the fall of Solomon. In 1 Kin. xi. 4—6 an express distinction is made between the way of David and the way of Solomon.

18. *Jerimoth*] Nothing is known regarding a son of David of this name. He may have been the son of a concubine (1 Chr. iii. 9).

and of *Abihail*] i.e. Mahalath's father was Jerimoth, her mother Abihail. The A.V. "and Abihail" wrongly implies that Abihail was, like Mahalath, a wife of Rehoboam.

Eliab] David's eldest brother; 1 Sam. xvi. 6, xvii. 13.

20. *Maacah*] Perhaps the *grand*-daughter of Absalom, since she is called the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah in xiii. 2 (where, with LXX., read "Maacah" for "Michaiah"; and see the note there). According to 2 Sam. xviii. 18 Absalom had "no son to keep his name in remembrance" but he may have had a daughter who married Uriel and became the mother of this Maacah; and further in 2 Sam. xiv. 27 it is said that Absalom had three sons and a daughter named *Tamar*.

21 Abijah, and Attai, and Ziza, and Shelomith. And Rehoboam loved Maacah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and his concubines: (for he took eighteen wives, and three-
22 score concubines, and begat twenty and eight sons and threescore daughters.) And Rehoboam appointed Abijah the son of Maacah to be chief, *even* the prince among his
23 brethren: for *he was minded* to make him king. And he dealt wisely, and dispersed of all his sons throughout all the lands of Judah and Benjamin, unto every fenced city: and he gave them victual in abundance. And he [1]sought *for them* many wives

12 And it came to pass, when the kingdom of Rehoboam was established, and he was strong, that he forsook the law
2 of the LORD, and all Israel with him. And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had trespassed

[1] Or, *sought a multitude of wives*

These sons may all have died young, but perhaps xiv. 27 is another tradition differing from xviii. 18.

Abijah] Called "Abijam" 1 Kin. xv. 1.

23. *all the lands*] i.e. the territory of Judah; cp. 1 Chr. xiii. 2 (mg.).

And he sought for them *many wives*] More exactly, as mg., *And he sought a multitude of wives.* It is difficult to say whether or not the Chronicler has Deut. xvii. 17 in his mind and is implicitly blaming the king. In any case he goes on in the next verse to say that Rehoboam forsook the law of the Lord. It is however probable that there is a slight error in the Hebrew and that the text ran originally thus, *And he took for them* (i.e. for his sons) *a multitude of wives.* Rehoboam's own conjugal affairs have been already described in ver. 21.

CH. XII. 1—12 (cp. 1 Kin. xiv. 22, 25—28). THE INVASION OF SHISHAK.

1. *all Israel*] i.e. all the Southern Kingdom; cp. note on xi. 3. The details of Judah's apostasy are given in 1 Kin. xiv. 22—24.

2. *Shishak*] The Egyptian king has commemorated this expedition in a pictorial inscription on the wall of the temple of Karnak. It appears that the Northern Kingdom suffered as well as the Southern; much spoil was carried off, but no permanent conquest of Canaan was attempted. (Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 529 f.)

because they had trespassed] A touch characteristic of the Chronicler; cp. xiii. 18, xxi. 10, xxiv. 24, xxv. 20, xxvii. 6, xxviii. 19; and 1 Chr.

against the LORD, with twelve hundred chariots, and three- 3
score thousand horsemen: and the people were without
number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubim, the
Sukkiim, and the Ethiopians. And he took the fenced cities 4
which pertained to Judah, and came unto Jerusalem. Now 5
Shemaiah the prophet came to Rehoboam, and to the princes
of Judah, that were gathered together to Jerusalem because
of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, Ye
have forsaken me, therefore have I also left you in the hand
of Shishak. Then the princes of Israel and the king humbled 6
themselves; and they said, The LORD is righteous. And 7
when the LORD saw that they humbled themselves, the word
of the LORD came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled
themselves; I will not destroy them: but I will grant them
[1]some deliverance, and my wrath shall not be poured out

[1] Or, *deliverance within a little while* Or, *a few that shall escape*

x. 13, 14. The Chronicler sees the working of temporal rewards and of temporal punishments everywhere.

3. *with twelve hundred chariots*] The details given in this verse are absent from 1 Kin.

Lubim] i.e. the Libyans of North Africa. Shishak was a leader of Libyan mercenaries. He made himself master of Egypt *c.* 950 B.C., and is known as the founder of the XXIInd dynasty.

Sukkiim] LXX. Τρωγλοδύται, i e. the cave dwellers of the mountains which fringe the west coast of the Red Sea. But whether these are really meant here is doubtful.

4. *the fenced cities*] Cp. xi. 5.

5. *Now Shemaiah the prophet came*] This intervention of Shemaiah is not mentioned in 1 Kin. For an earlier appearance of the prophet see xi. 2 ff. = 1 Kin. xii. 22 ff.

have I also left you in the hand] Rather, **I also have forsaken you and delivered you into the hand.**

6. *princes of Israel*] Called "princes of Judah" in ver. 5; cp. note on xi. 3.

humbled themselves] i.e. they fasted and put on sackcloth; cp. 1 Kin. xxi. 27, 29.

The LORD is righteous] Cp. Pharaoh's confession (Ex. ix. 27), and the Psalmist's address to God,. "That thou mayest be justified (lit. "mayest be righteous") when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest" (Ps. li. 4). The "righteousness" of God is made known to man in His judgement, whether the judgement be of condemnation (as here) or of acquittal (as 1 Joh. i. 9, R.V.).

7. *some deliverance*] Render, as mg., **deliverance within a little while.**

8 upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak. Nevertheless they
shall be his servants; that they may know my service, and
9 the service of the kingdoms of the countries. So Shishak
king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away
the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of
the king's house; he took all away: he took away also
10 the shields of gold which Solomon had made. And king
Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass, and com-
mitted them to the hands of the captains of the [1]guard, that
11 kept the door of the king's house. And it was so, that as
oft as the king entered into the house of the LORD, the guard
came and bare them, and brought them back into the guard
12 chamber. And when he humbled himself, the wrath of the
LORD turned from him, that he would not destroy him
altogether: and moreover in Judah there were good things
13 *found*. So king Rehoboam strengthened himself in Jeru-
salem, and reigned: for Rehoboam was forty and one years
old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years

[1] Heb. *runners*.

8. *that they may know my service*, etc.] i.e. that they may learn the difference between my service and other service.

9. *he took all away*] Shishak was bought off with a heavy present from attacking Jerusalem; cp. the case of Sennacherib (2 Kin. xviii. 13—16).

shields] Rather, **targets**, i.e. small shields; cp. note on ix. 15.

10. *the guard*] mg. (more literally) **the runners**. These derived their name from the duty of running before the king's chariot to clear the way for him; cp. 2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 Kin. i. 5.

12. *in Judah were good things* found] i.e. piety, cp. xix. 3. This is said as giving an additional reason for the mercy which God had showed (ver. 7). Doubtless it is also intended to emphasise the religious superiority of the South over the North; cp. the note on xi. 20.

13—16 (cp. 1 Kin. xiv. 21, 29—31). SUMMARY OF REHOBOAM'S REIGN.

13. *strengthened himself*] See note on i. 1. The immediate reference is to a recovery of strength after the departure of Shishak; the further reference is to xi. 5.

forty and one years old...and he reigned seventeen years] So read both the Heb. and LXX. here and in 1 Kin. xiv. 21, but in the additional passage which follows 1 Kin. xii. 24 in LXX. (B, not A) we read, *sixteen*

in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there: and his mother's name was Naamah the Ammonitess. And he did that which 14
was evil, because he set not his heart to seek the LORD. Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not 15
written in the [1]histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, [2]after the manner of genealogies? And there were wars between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually. And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried in 16
the city of David: and Abijah his son reigned in his stead.

[1] Heb. *words.* [2] Or, *in reckoning the genealogies*

years old...and twelve years he reigned. No importance however can be attached to this variation, for the passage which contains it is plainly midrashic in character.

the city which the LORD had chosen] Though the Ten Tribes were lost to the house of David, the Lord kept his oath to David by securing to his seed the possession of the one holy city of Israel.

14. *he set not his heart*] The phrase implies *steady purpose.* The Chronicler concludes that Rehoboam must be classed as a king who was good but not entirely so. The considerations which chiefly influenced him in determining the character of this reign were perhaps two: on the one hand the invasion of Shishak was felt to be a fixed point, a disaster only to be accounted for in the Chronicler's view by *some* falling away from assiduous worship of Jehovah; and on the other hand it seemed incredible that the second direct descendant of David on the throne of Israel should have been seriously corrupt. The situation was met by representing Rehoboam as having been three years faithful (and therefore prosperous), and one year faithless (and therefore assailed by Shishak in the fifth year). The favourable aspect of his reign was further emphasised by the statement of ver. 16, and by the suppression of the three damaging passages in Kings, referred to in the head-note to xi. 5—23. It is very obvious that the resultant picture of the king is much less true to historical reality than the account in Kings; but it serves excellently to illustrate the Chronicler's contention that virtue prospers and vice is punished. And once more we may insist that the value of this writer for us lies supremely in the energy and the conviction with which he seeks to drive home this great moral and spiritual belief.

15. *in the histories of...*] See Introd. § 5.

Iddo] Cp. xiii. 22, and see note on ix. 29.

after the manner of genealogies] mg. *in reckoning the genealogies*; but lit. "*to enrol themselves.*" This most obscure phrase is perhaps a meaningless fragment due to textual corruption. Another suggestion is that it has been misplaced and should be read at the end of xi. 16.

13 In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam began Abijah to
2 reign over Judah. Three years reigned he in Jerusalem:
and his mother's name was Micaiah the daughter of Uriel of
Gibeah. And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.

CH. XIII. 1, 2 (= 1 Kin. xv. 1, 2). ABIJAH SUCCEEDS.

1. *Abijah*] Called *Abijam* in 1 Kin. (LXX. Ἀβιού, i.e. Abijahu).

2. *Micaiah*] Read with LXX., **Maacah**; cp. note on xi. 20. Torrey, however, (*Ezra Studies*, p. 217) suggests that some words have fallen out of the text through similarity of ending. He would read "And his mother's name was Maacah < the daughter of Absalom, and he took to wife > Maacah the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah": the inconsistency as to Maacah's parentage between this verse and xi. 20 would disappear, and the suggestion that Maacah was *grand*-daughter of Absalom (see xi. 20, note) would be unnecessary.

3—20 (no parallel in 1 Kin.). THE BATTLE OF ZEMARAIM.

The account of Abijah's astonishing triumph over the host of Jeroboam should be compared with xiv. 9—15 (Asa's victory) and xx. 1—30 (Jehoshaphat's victory; see Introd. pp. xlix f.), passages which like the present are nowhere else recorded, and are essentially unhistorical. No reliance can be placed on the high numbers of the opposing armies (ver. 3), on the pious speech ascribed to king Abijah which neatly and forcibly expresses the ecclesiastical view of schismatic Israel held by the Chronicler and his school (vv. 4—12), or on the appalling carnage wrought in the Israelite army (ver. 17). The tale, in fact, is of a markedly midrashic character, i.e. a narrative intended to edify and not to be treated as serious history. But in all such cases it is fair to distinguish between the form and the substance: at least the bare substance of the tale. Thus in the present instance the judgement stated above does not preclude the possibility that war took place between Abijah and Jeroboam, and that the former gained a useful success over the more powerful Northern Kingdom. The absence from Kings of any mention of such victory is a serious objection; but it is not fatal, unless we take the view—objected to in the Introd. § 5—that the Chronicler had absolutely no sources, oral or written, of the faintest value for pre-exilic days apart from the canonical writings. Yet it must be admitted that it would be not unnatural to the workings of the Chronicler's mind to infer that some signal success must have rewarded so near a descendant of David if only to compensate in part for Rehoboam's disastrous reign and at any rate to punish the glaring iniquity of a schismatic and idolatrous Israel. Judging from the brief account of Abijah in 1 Kin. xv. 1—7, we may conclude that the continued hostility between North and South was a fact, but that it is extremely improbable there was a reliable tradition (if any at all) regarding a *great* Judean victory in his reign: see note on *Zemaraim* below.

And Abijah joined battle with an army of valiant men 3
of war, even four hundred thousand chosen men: and
Jeroboam set the battle in array against him with eight
hundred thousand chosen men, who were mighty men of
valour. And Abijah stood up upon mount Zemaraim, 4
which is in the hill country of Ephraim, and said, Hear
me, O Jeroboam and all Israel; ought ye not to know that 5
the LORD, the God of Israel, gave the kingdom over Israel
to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a
covenant of salt? Yet Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the 6
servant of Solomon the son of David, rose up, and rebelled
against his lord. And there were gathered unto him vain 7
men, sons of [1]Belial, which strengthened themselves against
Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young

[1] That is, *worthlessness*.

3. *four hundred thousand...eight hundred thousand*] The numbers are of course vastly in excess of any historic possibility; cp. the notes on xi. 1, xiv. 8, and especially that on xvii. 14.

4. *Abijah stood up*] Abijah attempts conference before beginning civil war, not simply because his was the weaker side numerically but because he had a telling appeal to make to the revolted tribes (vv. 8, 12). Jeroboam breaks off the conference after using it to cover his stratagem (ver. 13).

Zemaraim] A Zemaraim is mentioned in Josh. xviii. 22 as one of the cities of *Benjamin*, whereas here Mount Zemaraim is assigned to *Ephraim*. The natural inference is that the battle took place on the border of the two kingdoms. The tradition that a battle took place here between North and South, and perhaps between Abijah and Jeroboam, may be correct.

5. *a covenant of salt*] Salt was necessary for the efficacy of a sacrifice (Lev. ii. 13), so that *Covenant of salt* became a phrase for a *sure* covenant (Num. xviii. 19). The sacredness of the bond which is acknowledged among the Arabs between two persons who have "eaten salt" together as host and guest is common knowledge. It is not, however, necessary that salt should be taken; any food, e.g. milk, will serve (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 270).

7. *sons of Belial*] mg. *sons of worthlessness*. The general sense "worthless persons" or rather "vile scoundrels" (for gross wickedness is implied) is clear, but the precise meaning of *Belial* has not yet been determined. The etymology of the word is quite obscure, see *Ency. Bib.* I. 525 f.

young] Lit. *a child*. If this word is to be literally understood, the

8 and tenderhearted, and could not withstand them. And
now ye think to withstand the kingdom of the LORD in the
hand of the sons of David; and ye be a great multitude,
and there are with you the golden calves which Jeroboam
9 made you for gods. Have ye not driven out the priests of
the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made
you priests after the manner of the peoples of *other* lands?
so that whosoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young
bullock and seven rams, the same may be a priest of *them*
10 *that are* no gods. But as for us, the LORD is our God, and
we have not forsaken him; and *we have* priests ministering
unto the LORD, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites in their
11 work: and they burn unto the LORD every morning and

statement made is inconsistent with xii. 13, where it is said that Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he began to reign. It is possible, however, that the word is used metaphorically to describe one who was *young* (as indeed his conduct showed) in experience of government; so Solomon (1 Kin. iii. 7) calls himself a *little child*, by which he meant simply to express his consciousness of the smallness of his own ability when compared with the greatness of the task which lay before him, cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 1. A similar difficulty arises in regard to the age of Solomon, see *Ency. Brit.* s.v. *Solomon*.

tenderhearted] i.e., according to Heb. phraseology, *weak in understanding*, the heart being considered to be the seat of the mind. Or we may translate the Heb. phrase as in Deut. xx. 8, *fainthearted*.

9. *driven out*] see note on xi. 14.

after the manner of the peoples of other *lands*] i.e. who, unlike Israel, had no special class from which alone their priests were taken. Possibly, following the LXX., we should read **from the people** of the land (i.e. anyone who chose to apply, whether a Levite or not), cp 1 Kin. xii. 31, xiii. 33.

to consecrate himself] Lit. *to fill his hand*. Moses is directed (Ex. xxix. 1 ff.) to ordain Aaron and his sons priests by three ceremonies: (1) by anointing them, (2) by filling their hands, i.e. by presenting them with victims upon which they laid their hands, (3) by hallowing them, i.e. by sprinkling some of the blood of the victim upon them.

a young bullock and seven rams] Aaronic priests were consecrated with a young bullock and *two* rams (Ex. xxix. 1).

10. *in their work*] sc. *ministering unto the* LORD, as above. Part of the ideal of the Priestly Code was that the Levites should be restricted to the duty of helping the priests, and should be prevented from executing priestly functions themselves. With this ideal the Chronicler plainly sympathised, but it could not always be realised.

11. *every morning and every evening*] Ex. xxix. 38—42.

every evening burnt offerings and sweet incense: the shewbread also *set they* in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, to burn every evening: for we keep the charge of the LORD our God; but ye have forsaken him. And, behold, God is with us at our 12
head, and his priests with the trumpets of alarm to sound an alarm against you. O children of Israel, fight ye not against the LORD, the God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper. But Jeroboam caused an ambushment to come about behind 13
them: so they were before Judah, and the ambushment was behind them. And when Judah looked back, behold, the 14
battle was before and behind them: and they cried unto the LORD, and the priests sounded with the trumpets. Then 15
the men of Judah gave a shout: and as the men of Judah shouted, it came to pass, that God smote Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah and Judah. And the children of Israel 16
fled before Judah: and God delivered them into their hand. And Abijah and his people slew them with a great slaughter: 17
so there fell down slain of Israel five hundred thousand

sweet incense] Ex. xxx. 7.

the shewbread also set they *in order*] Lit. *and an ordering of bread* [they set in order]. The Heb. phrase used here for "shewbread" signifies bread arranged as for an offering. Another term is "bread of the presence," i.e. bread set forth continually before the Lord (Ex. xxv. 30). See 1 Chr. ix. 32 (note).

the candlestick] Ex. xxv. 31 ff., xl. 24, 25.

12. *the trumpets of alarm*] (Num. x. 9). Abijah here threatens his opponents with a *jihād* or holy war.

13. *Jeroboam caused an ambushment*] While Abijah was endeavouring to shake the fidelity of the Northern army, the Northern leader secures a tactical advantage. The greater the advantages of the Israelites and the more disastrous the position ascribed to the army of Judah, so much the more glorious is the victory which Judah achieves by its reliance on Jehovah.

15. *gave a shout*] This shout had the character of a religious function; cp. Josh. vi. 10, 16; Judg. vii. 20, where the same Heb. word is used.

God smote Jeroboam] Cp. xiv. 12. Supernatural aid secures the victory.

17. The Chronicler has little or no interest in military matters as such, and is heedless of probability so far as the numbers he mentions are concerned. They must be sufficiently immense to enhance the power of Jehovah and to convey the impression that the days of old were mighty days. Comparison has been made with the phrase "a

18 chosen men. Thus the children of Israel were brought
under at that time, and the children of Judah prevailed,
because they relied upon the LORD, the God of their fathers.
19 And Abijah pursued after Jeroboam, and took cities from
him, Beth-el with the towns thereof, and Jeshanah with the
20 towns thereof, and [1]Ephron with the towns thereof. Neither
did Jeroboam recover strength again in the days of Abijah:
21 and the LORD smote him, and he died. But Abijah waxed
mighty, and took unto himself fourteen wives, and begat
22 twenty and two sons, and sixteen daughters. And the rest
of the acts of Abijah, and his ways, and his sayings, are
written in the commentary of the prophet Iddo.

[1] Another reading is, *Ephrain*.

hundred and twenty thousand *in one day*" (xxviii. 6), and from the absence of the words "in one day," it has been argued that the present passage refers to the losses of the whole campaign. Even so the figure, 500,000, is an immense exaggeration.

18. *because they relied*] Cp. note on xii. 2.

19. *Beth-el*] Beth-el was apparently subsequently recovered by the Northern Kingdom; cp. 2 Kin. x. 29. But, as it is very doubtful whether this section has any historical basis (see the head-note, xiii. 3), Beth-el may never have come under the rule of Abijah as is here stated. Nothing is said, be it noted, of the capture of the golden calf.

Jeshanah] Nothing is certainly known of this place, which is mentioned here only. It has been identified with *Ain Sînia*, a little to the north of Beth-el.

Ephron] so the *Kethib*, whereas the A.V. following the *Kerî* has **Ephrain**. *Ephrain* is a later form of the name *Ephron*, as *Shamrain* (Ezra iv. 10, 17) is of *Shomron* (Samaria). The place has been identified with et-Taiyebeh, a place S.E. of Ain Sinia and N.E. of Beitin (Beth-el). It was probably the *city called Ephraim*, to which our Lord retired after the raising of Lazarus (Joh. xi. 54).

20. *the LORD smote him, and he died*] The same phrase is used of the death of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 38); it implies suddenness or some other unusual circumstance (cp. Acts xii. 23, the death of Herod Agrippa). 1 Kin. xiv. 20 says simply *Jeroboam...slept with his fathers*.

21, 22. THE EPILOGUE OF ABIJAH'S REIGN.

21. *fourteen wives*] The many wives are mentioned here as a symbol of the wealth and state of Abijah.

22. *his ways*] The Chronicler takes a much more favourable view of Abijah than Kings, where it is said of him that "he walked in all the

So Abijah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in 14
the city of David, and Asa his son reigned in his stead: in
his days the land was quiet ten years. And Asa did that 2
which was good and right in the eyes of the LORD his God:
for he took away the strange altars, and the high places, and 3

sins of his father..." (1 Kin. xv. 3), and received favour from Jehovah only on account of the merits of David. Evidently the Chronicler deemed it fitting to fasten on the fact of the favour, perhaps because he felt it imperative that Jeroboam should receive from the next king of Judah the punishment for his sins which Rehoboam could not inflict.

in the commentary] Heb. *Midrash.* See Introduction, § 5, p. xxxi.

Iddo] See note on ix. 29.

CH. XIV. 1—5 (cp. 1 Kin. xv. 9—15). THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF ASA.

In Kings the reign of Asa is reviewed with entire approval, according to Chronicles his conduct was marred only by the lack of faith manifested in his reliance on the king of Syria (see xvi. 1—10), and in his recourse to physicians at the close of his reign (xvi. 12).

1. *ten years*] These *ten* years of rest are naturally to be assigned to the beginning of Asa's reign; later on there was a rest of *twenty* years (cp. xv. 10 with xv. 19). The number *ten* here makes a discrepancy with 1 Kin., for Baasha became king of Israel in the *third* year of Asa (1 Kin. xv. 28, 33), and "there was war between Asa and Baasha all their days" (*ib.* ver. 32). If, however, we allow some latitude to the language both of 1 Kin. and of Chron., the discrepancy becomes unimportant.

3. *he took away*] In 1 Kin. xv. 12, 13 he is said to have put away the sodomites, and all the idols that his fathers had made; and also "the abominable image" which Maacah, his mother, had made. These remarks are here ignored by the Chronicler, probably because they would be out of harmony with the comparatively pious character he has ascribed to Asa's predecessors, Rehoboam and Abijah. They are given, however, in xv. 16, 17, where see note.

the strange altars] i.e. altars belonging to gods other than Jehovah.

and the high places] a direct contradiction of 1 Kin. xv. 14, where it is said "But the high places were not taken away: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect with the LORD all his days." This remarkable contrast affords a vivid illustration of the different standpoints of Kings and Chron. In Kings the removal of the high-places is the great reform of later days effected by Hezekiah (2 Kin. xviii. 4, 22), by Josiah (2 Kin. xxiii. 8). To the Chronicler, who believed that the law centralising the worship of Jehovah in Jerusalem was in force from the Mosaic age, the abolition of the high-places was felt to be a minimum

4 brake down the [1]pillars, and hewed down the Asherim; and
commanded Judah to seek the LORD, the God of their
5 fathers, and to do the law and the commandment. Also
he took away out of all the cities of Judah the high places
and the sun-images: and the kingdom was quiet before him.
6 And he built fenced cities in Judah: for the land was quiet,

[1] Or, *obelisks*

of reform and must surely have been carried out by any king with a claim to piety. See also the note on xv. 17.

the pillars] LXX. τὰς στήλας. The "pillar" or "obelisk," Heb. *Maṣṣēbāh*, was a monolith standing by an altar as a symbol of the god worshipped at the altar. In later days an image took the place of the pillar, i.e. the mere symbol was succeeded by the likeness of the god. (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], pp. 203 ff., and for illustrations of those recently discovered at Gezer see Macalister, *Bible Side-lights*, or Driver, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*, p. 63.)

and hewed down the Asherim] An *Ashērah* (pl. *Ashērim* and *Ashēroth*) was a wooden pole planted beside an altar as the symbol of a deity. It appears to have been a survival of tree-worship, as the *Maṣṣēbāh* was a survival of stone-worship. The *Ashērah* of itself did not represent any particular deity, but it could be carved to bear the symbol of any special god or goddess, e.g. of Ashtarte. (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], pp. 186 ff.) Probably the term *Ashērah* was used in reference to the living sacred trees, which are still common in Palestine: see the present writer's edition of the Mishna tractate, '*Aboda Zara*, pp. 60 f.

5. *the sun-images*] Cp. xxxiv. 4; Is. xvii. 8, xxvii. 9. The Heb. word ("ḥamman") is of uncertain meaning and the supposed connection with *heat* or the *sun* is unsatisfactory. On the whole the evidence points to the conclusion that the "ḥamman" was a stone pillar associated with the altar, and much the same as the "Maṣṣēbāh," the difference perhaps being that the former was artificially shaped, the latter was of natural stone (see art. *Baal* in Hastings' *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 287, 288).

6—8. Defensive Measures of Asa.

From xvi. 1—6 = 1 Kin. xv. 17—22, it appears that there was a strong and probably a reliable tradition ascribing to Asa activity in building defensive townships in Judah. It is likely that the present verses with their vague reference to strongly built cities with no mention of their number or names are only an expansion of the more precise references in xvi. 6. The Chronicler has assigned the narrative given in xvi. 1—6 (the war with Baasha) to the close of Asa's reign (for reasons noted under xvi. 1), and he obviously *wanted* something to occupy the ten years of peace with which—according to his story—the reign of Asa opened. This is conveniently found in a general allusion to building and fortification.

and he had no war in those years; because the LORD had given him rest. For he said unto Judah, Let us build these 7
cities, and make about them walls, and towers, gates, and bars; the land is yet before us, because we have sought the LORD our God; we have sought him, and he hath given us rest on every side. So they built and prospered. And Asa 8
had an army that bare bucklers and spears, out of Judah three hundred thousand; and out of Benjamin, that bare shields and drew bows, two hundred and fourscore thousand: all these were mighty men of valour. And there came out 9
against them Zerah the Ethiopian with an army of a thousand

8. *that bare bucklers and spears...that bare shields and drew bows*] LXX., *δύναμις ὁπλοφόρων (=ὁπλιτῶν) αἰρόντων θυρεοὺς καὶ δόρατα... πελτασταὶ καὶ τοξόται.* The Chronicler divides Asa's army into the heavy-armed men belonging to Judah and the light-armed bowmen belonging to Benjamin. Asa apparently had no chariots. "Bucklers" and "shields" should be transposed as in ix. 15.

of Judah three hundred thousand...of Benjamin...two hundred and fourscore thousand] The total is 580,000. Under Asa's successor, Jehoshaphat, the numbers are (xvii. 14—18), Judah 780,000, Benjamin 380,000, making a total of 1,160,000, i.e. twice the total given above. The moral which the Chronicler would enforce by these figures seems to be that Judah was strong in the early days of Asa, while Asa showed faith in God, and that it became still stronger under his really religious successor, Jehoshaphat. Regarding the exaggeration of these figures, see the notes on xi. 1, and xvii. 14.

9—15 (no parallel in Kings). ASA'S VICTORY OVER ZERAH: THE BATTLE OF MARESHAH.

The present passage has much the same midrashic character as the account of Abijah's victory related in the previous chapter, and some scholars consider that the story of the raid and defeat of Zerah has no basis in fact. It is, however, more probable that it originates in a genuine tradition of the repulse of some Egyptian, or rather Arabian (see note, ver. 9), inroad, not necessarily, however, in the time of Asa: cp. the Introd. § 7, p. l.

9. *against them*] We should expect either *against him* (i.e. Asa) or *against Judah*. Perhaps this account has been torn out from some older document without regard to the context, so that the reference of *them* is lost. Cp. notes on vv. 12, 13, 14.

Zerah the Ethiopian] Rather, **Zerah the Cushite** ("man of Cush"). Cush (Gen. x. 7) was the ancestor of certain Arabian tribes, including Saba, see 1 Chr. i. 9; and Arabians and Cushites ("Ethiopians" A.V.,

thousand, and three hundred chariots; and he came unto
10 Mareshah. Then Asa went out to meet him, and they set
the battle in array in the valley of Zephathah at Mareshah.

also R.V.) are mentioned as neighbours (2 Chr. xxi. 16). It is therefore highly probable that the leader of the inroad was an Arabian (Sabean) and not an Ethiopian. (Cp. S. A. Cook in *Expos.* June, 1906, p. 541, against Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt.*) *Zerah* perhaps represents *Dhirrih* (*Zirrīh*), a title (meaning "the magnificent") of several of the oldest princes of Saba. The tradition may therefore be brought into connection with the many indications in Chron. of Arabian incursions on the southern borders of Judah. Mareshah, where the battle was fought (ver. 9), was one of the ancient seats of the Calebites from which they were driven northwards (cp. 1 Chr. ii.). Those who prefer to regard Cushite as = Ethiopian—see 1 Chr. i. 8—and Zerah as an Egyptian king, have to suppose that "Ethiopian" is applied to him loosely and somewhat ignorantly; and further, as no king of Egypt is so named, that Zerah must denote Osorkon I or II, or perhaps be the name of a general of Osorkon. From xvi. 8 (see the note on *Lubim*) it would seem probable that the *Chronicler* believed Zerah's host to be an Egyptian force.

a thousand thousand] An inroad of the "children of the East" was formidable from sheer weight of numbers. We may gather from xvi. 8 that the original assailants were joined by other hordes as they drew near the border of Judah. The number *a thousand thousand* is probably meant to signify that the host was too great to number; it is, of course, not to be taken literally.

three hundred chariots] The chariots, though comparatively few, are mentioned, (1) perhaps because Asa himself had *none*, (2) perhaps also because they represent an Egyptian contingent. This suggestion receives support from xvi. 8, where the Lubim (cp. xii. 3) are associated with the Cushites in the invasion. The cowardly foreign policy of Egypt may have led her on this occasion to defend her own borders from the barbarian hordes by encouraging them to invade her neighbour's territories.

The reading *three hundred* is supported by the LXX. and is probably right. The reading of the Pesh., "thirty thousand," and the wording of xvi. 8, "with exceeding many chariots and horsemen," seem like a retouching of the narrative to make the number of the chariots and horsemen correspond with the number of the whole host.

Mareshah] See note on xi. 8.

10. *in the valley*] Probably the valley in which Beit-Jibrin now stands, one of several valleys giving access from the Shephelah into central Judah (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, pp. 230—233). In such a place a large force might easily be discomfited by a few resolute men (cp. 2 Sam. xvii. 9, 10).

of Zephathah at Mareshah] Render with LXX., **north of Mareshah** (reading *Saphonah* for *Zephathah*). No valley or town called "Zephathah" is known.

And Asa cried unto the LORD his God, and said, LORD, 11
[1]there is none [2]beside thee to help, between the mighty and
him that hath no strength: help us, O LORD our God; for
we rely on thee, and in thy name are we come against this
multitude. O LORD, thou art our God; let not man prevail
against thee. So the LORD smote the Ethiopians before 12
Asa, and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled. And Asa 13
and the people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar:
and there fell of the Ethiopians [3]so many that they could not
recover themselves; for they were [4]destroyed before the
LORD, and before his host; and they carried away very
much booty. And they smote all the cities round about 14
Gerar; for [5]the fear of the LORD came upon them: and
they spoiled all the cities; for there was much spoil in
them. They smote also the tents of cattle, and carried 15
away sheep in abundance and camels, and returned to
Jerusalem.

[1] Or, *there is no difference with thee to help, whether the mighty or him &c.* [2] Or, *like* [3] Or, *so that none remained alive*
[4] Heb. *broken.* [5] Or, *a terror from the* LORD

12. *the* LORD *smote*] Cp. xiii. 15. The use of The Name, *Jehovah* (translated THE LORD), instead of the general word "God" here and in verses 13, 14 is in favour of the view that the Chronicler took this account from some earlier document, perhaps a midrashic history of Judah (Introd. § 5, p. xxxvi).

the Ethiopians] Rather, **the Cushites.**

13. *Gerar*] Identified with *Jerār*, ruins three hours south of Gaza; cp. 1 Chr. iv. 39 (read "Gerar," LXX. Γέραρα).

so many that they could not recover themselves] Or perhaps, as mg., **so that none remained alive.**

very much booty] The phrase used belongs to a style earlier than that of the Chronicler. Cp. note on ver. 9 (*against them*).

14. *the fear of the* LORD] The Chronicler's own phrase is "the fear of God" (xx. 29).

much spoil] Again we miss a favourite expression of the Chronicler: "*exceeding* (lārōbh) much spoil."

15. *the tents of cattle*] These words are so strange an expression that it is probable the text is corrupt. If so, the original reading is unknown, for the LXX. has the same reading as the Heb. It adds a proper name, evidently intended as the name of an Arabian tribe, but this addition appears to be a gloss derived from a reading of the LXX. in xxii. 1.

15 And the spirit of God came upon Azariah the son of
2 Oded: and he went out to meet Asa, and said unto him,
Hear ye me, Asa, and all Judah and Benjamin: the LORD
is with you, while ye be with him; and if ye seek him, he
will be found of you; but if ye forsake him, he will forsake
3 you. Now for [1]long seasons Israel hath been without the
true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law:
4 but when in their distress they turned unto the LORD, the
5 God of Israel, and sought him, he was found of them. And
in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor
to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the
6 inhabitants of the lands. And they were broken in pieces,
nation against nation, and city against city: for God did vex
7 them with all adversity. But be ye strong, and let not your
8 hands be slack: for your work shall be rewarded. And

[1] Or, *a long season*

CH. XV. **1—15** (no parallel in Kings). THE PROPHECY OF AZARIAH THE SON OF ODED AND ITS SEQUEL.

1. *Azariah the son of Oded*] is mentioned only in this passage. Cp. xvi. 7, where a prophet (Hanani), also known to us only through Chronicles, delivers a rebuke to Asa.

2. *went out to meet*] Cp. xix. 2.

if ye seek him] Cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 9.

Vv. 3—6 contain the reflections of the Chronicler himself or a glossator on the whole course of Israelite history. The wording is too vague and there are periods in the history too obscure to make it possible to determine the reference definitely.

3. *without a teaching priest, and without law*] The connection between these two is closer than the English suggests. "Law" (Heb. *tōrah*) is properly "teaching, guidance." A "teaching" priest (Heb. *mōreh*) is one who gives "tōrah" or "guidance" on doubtful points of morality or ritual. Cp. Mal. ii. 7.

5. *vexations*] Rather, **afflictions**; cp. Acts xii. 1, "to vex (R.V. 'to afflict') certain of the church."

of the lands] The reference is probably to the Israelite territory only; cp. xi. 23, xxxiv. 33; and 1 Chr. xiii. 2 (mg.).

6. *nation against nation*] Apparently Israel is meant. In the civil strife of the days of the Judges, and again in the contentions of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, Israel seemed at times to be a collection of related but hostile tribes: cp. Judg. viii. 13—17, ix. 26 ff., xii. 1 ff., xx. 12 ff.

vex] Rather, **afflict**; see ver. 5.

7. *be ye strong*, etc.] The prophet's warning is continued in this verse.

when Asa heard these words, [1]and the prophecy of Oded the prophet, he took courage, and put away the abominations out of all the land of Judah and Benjamin, and out of the cities which he had taken from the hill country of Ephraim; and he renewed the altar of the LORD, that was before the porch of the LORD. And he gathered all Judah and Ben- 9
jamin, and them that sojourned with them out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon: for they fell to him out

[1] Or, *even*

8. *and the prophecy of Oded the prophet*] Some words have fallen out of the text. Read, **even the prophecy which Azariah the son of Oded prophesied.**

the abominations] Cp. 1 Kin. xiv. 23, 24, xv. 12, 13.

the cities which he had taken] A loose reference to those said to have been captured by Abijah (xiii. 19). There is no record of any taken by Asa himself.

the hill country of Ephraim] The term describes the hilly country between the plain of Esdraelon and the territory of Benjamin.

that was before the porch] Cp. vii. 7, viii. 12.

9. *them that sojourned with them*] Cp. x. 17, xi. 16, 17, xvi. 1.

out of Ephraim and Manasseh, and out of Simeon] In view of the evidence of Kings and the special character of Chronicles this statement cannot be regarded as having historical value for the time of Asa. Taking it in connection with similar notices in 1 Chr. ix. 3 (Ephraim and Manasseh), xii. 8, 19 (Gad and Manasseh), 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 10, 11, 18, xxxiv. 9 (Ephraim and Manasseh; also Zebulun, Issachar, and perhaps Asher) we may infer that these references have significance for the time of the Chronicler (or his source) and were inserted either (*a*) to gratify the wishes of certain orthodox families in Jerusalem who counted themselves descendants of North Israelite families, especially of Ephraim and Manasseh, and were eager to think that their ancestors had associated themselves with the fortunes of the *true* Israel at an early date after the separation of the kingdoms or at least in pre-exilic days. Or (*b*)—an interesting suggestion first advanced by Stade and recently developed by Hölscher (*Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, 1903, pp. 30—37)—we may suppose that the reference is not to families resident in Jerusalem but to persons living in the territories once occupied by Ephraim, Manasseh, etc., and loyal to the faith of the orthodox community in Jerusalem. The former view seems favoured by 1 Chr. ix. 3, the latter by 2 Chr. xxx. 25 (despite the last words); and on general grounds the latter view seems preferable to the present writer. If so, we have in Chron. the first traces of the extension of Judaism northwards from Judea into Samaria and Galilee. Hölscher thinks that the evidence of Chron. can be supported from the late chapters Zech. ix.—xiv., and from passages in Judith.

Simeon] The territory of this tribe lay in the South (1 Chr. iv. 28—

of Israel in abundance, when they saw that the LORD his
10 God was with him. So they gathered themselves together
at Jerusalem in the third month, in the fifteenth year of the
11 reign of Asa. And they sacrificed unto the LORD in that
day, of the spoil which they had brought, seven hundred
12 oxen and seven thousand sheep. And they entered into
the covenant to seek the LORD, the God of their fathers,
13 with all their heart and with all their soul; and that whoso-
ever would not seek the LORD, the God of Israel, should be
put to death, whether small or great, whether man or woman.
14 And they sware unto the LORD with a loud voice, and with
15 shouting, and with trumpets, and with cornets. And all
Judah rejoiced at the oath: for they had sworn with all
their heart, and sought him with their whole desire; and he
was found of them: and the LORD gave them rest round
16 about. And also Maacah the mother of Asa the king, he

43; Jos. xix. 1—9), and it is natural to think that at the disruption Simeon followed Judah in allegiance to the house of David. Here, however, and in xxxiv. 6 it is reckoned as one of the ten tribes forming the Northern Kingdom, for what reason it is hard to say. The traditions relating to the tribe are far from clear (see *Ency. Brit.* s.v. *Simeon*).

10. *in the third month*] In this month the Feast of Weeks (i.e. of wheat harvest) was held; Deut. xvi. 9.

11. *the spoil*] Cp. xiv. 13—15.

12. *they entered into the covenant*] Cp. xxix. 10; 2 Kin. xxiii. 3.

13. *should be put to death*] According to the Law; Deut. xvii. 2—7.

14. *shouting*] The word (*terū'āh*) is used to denote a blast with the festal trumpets; see next note.

trumpets] The word (*hāṣōṣĕrāh*) means a special kind of trumpet used only for religious purposes; Num. x. 1—10; 1 Chr. xv. 24 (note). Driver, *Amos*, pp. 144—6, gives an illustration derived from the Arch of Titus.

15. *he was found of them*] A fulfilment of the promise given in ver. 2.

16—19 (1 Kin. xv. 13—15). OTHER RELIGIOUS MEASURES OF ASA.

16. *And also Maacah*] "Maacah the daughter of Abishalom" is described as the mother of Abijam (Abijah) in 1 Kin. xv. 2 and as the mother of Asa in 1 Kin. xv. 10, although Asa is described as the son of Abijam (Abijah) in 1 Kin. xv. 8. Most probably Maacah was the grandmother of Asa but retained her position as queen mother during two reigns, i.e. until removed by Asa.

removed her from being [1]queen, because she had made an abominable image [2]for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image, and made dust of it, and burnt it at the brook Kidron. But the high places were not taken away out of Israel: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect all his days. And he brought into the house of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himself had

[1] Or, *queen mother* [2] Or, *for Asherah*

from being queen] Or, as mg., **from being queen mother.**

an abominable image] Exactly what is meant by this phrase is uncertain. The image was one of peculiarly repulsive appearance, or perhaps of specially degrading significance.

for an Asherah] R.V. mg. (rightly, as representing the meaning of the Chronicler) **for Asherah**, since Asherah here and in a few other passages (1 Kin. xviii. 19; 2 Kin. xxi. 7, xxiii. 4, 7) is to be translated as the name of a goddess, about whom however very little is known. Excavations at Ta'anach have revealed that a goddess named *Ashirat* (=*Asherah*) was worshipped in Palestine from an early period. The references here and in the passages cited above would therefore seem to be to this goddess. That conclusion, if sound, disposes of the opinion that the Chronicler was mistaken in imagining that "Ashērah" was anything more than a common noun denoting the wooden symbol of a deity. We must of course translate according to the meaning of the Chronicler whether he has fallen into an error or not. See also the note on xiv. 3, p. 224.

the brook Kidron] On the east of Jerusalem, an unclean place; cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 4, "in the fields of Kidron." Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 80.

17. *the high places*] Heb. *bāmōth*. These were not necessarily places of idolatrous worship, but they were sanctuaries rigorously forbidden by the Law from the Deuteronomic period onwards, which in the opinion of the Chronicler of course meant from the time of Moses. Failure to "remove" the high places was therefore reckoned by him as a sin in any of the kings, no matter how early in the period of the monarchy.

were not taken away...days] So also 1 Kin. xv. 14, but a direct contradiction of the Chronicler's statement in xiv. 3! Two explanations seem possible; *either*, "Israel" (contrary to the frequent usage of the word in Chron., see xi. 3) here denotes the Northern Kingdom as distinct from Judah, in which case xiv. 3 is to be taken as referring only to Judah, *or* perhaps these verses 16—19 are an addition to Chron. inserted by someone who thought the Chronicler had wrongfully neglected 1 Kin. xv. 13—15.

perfect] i.e. "whole, undivided in its allegiance."

18. *the things that his father had dedicated*] Probably *spoils of war*; cp. 1 Chr. xviii. 11. It is implied that Abijah had vowed a portion of

19 dedicated, silver, and gold, and vessels. And there was no
more war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of
Asa.

16 In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha
king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that
he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of
2 Judah. Then Asa brought out silver and gold out of the
treasures of the house of the LORD and of the king's

his spoils, but that Asa first actually presented them in the Temple. The verse is quoted *verbatim* from 1 Kin. xv. 15, and is most obscure, so that there is probability in the view that it is only a misplaced repetition of 1 Kin. vii. 51*b*. No stress can therefore be laid on the suggestion that we may see in this statement an indirect confirmation of Abijah's victory recorded in 2 Chr. xiii.

19. *there was no more war*] This statement can be reconciled with 1 Kin. xv. 16, 32 only by interpreting it broadly to mean that nothing serious occurred until the war with Baasha had been going on for several years: a forced interpretation. Perhaps the Chronicler deliberately contradicts Kings "there was war between Asa and Baasha all their days," assigning to Asa's reign a time of peace which seemed appropriate to his piety.

CH. XVI. 1—6 (=1 Kin. XV. 17—22). ASA ASKS HELP OF BEN-HADAD.

1. *the six and thirtieth year*] According to 1 Kin. xvi. 8 Baasha was succeeded by his son Elah in the six-and-twentieth year of Asa. The number *thirty-six* may therefore be wrong. It should be noticed however that the *thirty-sixth* year of the separate kingdom of Judah corresponds with the *sixteenth* year of Asa, so that possibly two different reckonings are here confused and we should read, **In the six and thirtieth year, that is, in the sixteenth year of Asa.** So in xv. 19 we should read, **in the five and thirtieth, that is, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa.** This scheme of Asa's reign, however, agrees badly with the dominant ideas of the Chronicler, for the religious reform and covenant in the fifteenth year (ver. 10) *ought* not to have been immediately followed by war in the sixteenth year, but rather by a period of peace and prosperity. Hence *thirty-six* may after all be the original text, and we must suppose that the Chronicler either ignored or overlooked 1 Kin. xvi. 8; or perhaps that he quoted from a midrashic source, having a different system of chronology from that in Kings.

Ramah] The modern *er-Rām*, situated on a commanding hill about two hours north of Jerusalem. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 216.

2. *silver and gold*] In 1 Kin., "all the silver and the gold that were left."

house, and sent to Ben-hadad king of Syria, that dwelt at
[1]Damascus, saying, [2]*There is* a league between me and thee, 3
as *there was* between my father and thy father: behold, I
have sent thee silver and gold; go, break thy league with
Baasha king of Israel, that he may depart from me. And 4
Ben-hadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains
of his armies against the cities of Israel; and they smote
Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-maim, and all the [3]store cities of
Naphtali. And it came to pass, when Baasha heard thereof, 5
that he left off building of Ramah, and let his work cease.
Then Asa the king took all Judah; and they carried away 6
the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith
Baasha had builded; and he built therewith Geba and

[1] Heb. *Darmesek.* [2] Or, Let there be
[3] Heb. *storehouses of the cities.*

Ben-hadad] At least three kings of Syria bore this name, the two others being severally (1) a contemporary of Ahab (1 Kin. xx. 1 ff.), (2) a contemporary of Jehoash the grandson of Jehu, 2 Kin. xiii. 25.

that dwelt at Damascus] The epithet distinguishes the king of Damascus from other kings of Syria, e.g. from the king of Hamath.

Damascus] Heb. "Darmesek"; see note on 1 Chr. xviii. 5.

4. *and they smote*] The places smitten were all in the extreme north of Israel.

Ijon] The city cannot be identified, but the name is preserved in *Merj 'Iyūn*, a table-land north of the Jordan valley. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 291.

Abel-maim] In 1 Kin., "Abel-beth-maacah"; cp. 2 Sam. xx. 14, 15. No doubt the two names designate one place.

all the store cities] In 1 Kin., "all Chinneroth" (i.e. the district west of the Sea of Galilee). As this was a very fruitful district, the "store cities" of the Chronicler may be only another name for it.

5. *and let his work cease*] In 1 Kin. *and dwelt in Tirzah* (Heb.), *and returned to Tirzah* (LXX.). Baasha (like Jeroboam; 1 Kin. xiv. 17) fixed his seat of government at Tirzah in the centre of the Northern Kingdom in order to be able to watch Syria as well as Judah. The Chronicler takes no interest in the home of Baasha.

6. *took all Judah*] In 1 Kin. *summoned all Judah* (so translate); *none was exempted.*

Geba and Mizpah] The names signify, "the hill and the watch-tower." Geba is mentioned in 2 Kin. xxiii. 8, evidently as being on the northern boundary of Judah. Yet, be it noted, it was only 7 miles north of Jerusalem, whilst Mizpah was about 5 miles north-west of the capital. For Mizpah see Jer. xli. 1—9. See also note on xiv. 6—8.

7 Mizpah. And at that time Hanani the seer came to Asa
king of Judah, and said unto him, Because thou hast relied
on the king of Syria, and hast not relied on the LORD thy
God, therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped out
8 of thine hand. Were not the Ethiopians and the Lubim a
huge host, with chariots and horsemen exceeding many?
yet, because thou didst rely on the LORD, he delivered them
9 into thine hand. For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro
throughout the whole earth, to shew himself strong in the
behalf of them whose heart is perfect toward him. Herein
thou hast done foolishly; for from henceforth thou shalt
10 have wars. Then Asa was wroth with the seer, and put
him in the [1]prison house; for he was in a rage with him
because of this thing. And Asa oppressed some of the

[1] Heb. *house of the stocks.*

7—10 (not in 1 Kin.). THE INTERVENTION OF HANANI.

The Chronicler stands alone both in recording the condemnation of Asa in this passage and in himself condemning him in ver. 12. In 1 Kin. no blame is passed on Asa.

7. *Hanani the seer*] Hanani *as a seer* is known to us from this passage only; but in xix. 2 and xx. 34 (also 1 Kin. xvi. 1) Jehu the prophet is called son of Hanani.

the seer] an ancient title, elsewhere applied only to Samuel. Cp. 1 Sam. ix. 9 "he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer." In consequence of this phrase it has been supposed that the story of Hanani is a genuinely old tradition. This is possible, but the evidence of this one phrase is not sufficient to be convincing. The term may be a deliberate archaism of the Chronicler.

therefore is the host of the king of Syria escaped] The prophet declares that if Asa had not detached Syria by his presents, he might have smitten Israel and Syria combined.

8. *and the Lubim*] The Lubim are not mentioned in xiv. 9—13, but as they were auxiliaries of the Egyptians (xii. 3) it is quite possible that they represent the help given by Egypt to the Arabian Cushites as they passed the Egyptian border on their way to invade Judah. Cp. note on xiv. 9 (*three hundred chariots*).

9. *run to and fro*] i.e. no event escapes the Divine vigilance, cp. Zech. iv. 10.

10. *in the prison house*] Render, **in the stocks** (lit. *in the house of the stocks*). Cp. xviii. 26; Jer. xx. 2.

oppressed] lit. *brake in pieces*, an expression which when applied to things would mean *made spoil of*, when applied to persons *treated outrageously, tortured*, ἐλυμήνατο LXX.

people the same time. And, behold, the acts of Asa, first 11
and last, lo, they are written in the book of the kings of
Judah and Israel. And in the thirty and ninth year of his 12
reign Asa was diseased in his feet; his disease was exceeding
great: yet in his disease he sought not to the LORD, but to
the physicians. And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in 13
the one and fortieth year of his reign. And they buried him 14
in his own sepulchres, which he had hewn out for himself in
the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled
with sweet odours and divers kinds *of spices* prepared by the
apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for
him.

And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead, and 17

11—14 (=1 Kin. xv. 23, 24). THE EPILOGUE OF ASA'S REIGN.

11. *the book of the kings of Judah and Israel*] In 1 Kin. the appeal is to "the book of chronicles of the kings of Judah." See Introd. § 5.

he sought not to the LORD, *but to the physicians*] *Physicians* (Heb. *rōph'im*) are condemned by implication here, perhaps as using incantations and adjurations. Contrast Ecclus. (*Ben Sira*) xxxviii. 9—15, especially ver. 15 (Heb. text), *He that sinneth against his Maker will behave himself proudly against a physician.* Curtis notes the connection of the art of healing with the prophets; cp. 1 Kin. xvii. 17 ff. (Elijah); 2 Kin. iv. 19 ff. (Elisha); 2 Kin. xx. 7 (Isaiah).

13. *in the one and fortieth year*] Cp. 1 Kin. xv. 10.

14. *in his own sepulchres*] In 1 Kin. *with his fathers.*

which he had hewn out for himself] This clause is absent from 1 Kin.

divers kinds of spices] Mark xvi. 1; John xii. 3, 7, xix. 39, 40.

a very great burning] Cp. xxi. 19. What is here meant is not cremation of the body, but only a burning of spices; Jer. xxxiv. 5.

CHAPTERS XVII.—XX. THE REIGN OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

CH. XVII. 1—6. THE CHARACTER OF THE REIGN.

The reign of Jehoshaphat is one of the most interesting sections of Chron. If these chapters, xvii.—xx., be compared with the references to Jehoshaphat in Kings (viz. 1 Kin. xxii. 1—35, 41—50), it will be seen that much new material appears in Chron. (ch. xvii., and xix. 1—xx. 30), with the result that the prosperity and piety of this king are greatly enhanced. As to the historical value of the Chronicler's account, see the head-notes to the various sections below.

1. *And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead*] These words are from 1 Kin. xv. 24. All the rest of this chapter is without any parallel in Kin.

2 strengthened himself against Israel. And he placed forces
in all the fenced cities of Judah, and set garrisons in the
land of Judah, and in the cities of Ephraim, which Asa his
3 father had taken. And the LORD was with Jehoshaphat,
because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and
4 sought not unto the Baalim; but sought to the God of his
father, and walked in his commandments, and not after
5 the doings of Israel. Therefore the LORD stablished the
kingdom in his hand; and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat
presents; and he had riches and honour in abundance.
6 And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the LORD: and
furthermore he took away the high places and the Asherim

2. *the cities of Ephraim*] Cp. xv. 8.

3. *in the first ways of his father David*] Omit *David* (so LXX.), the person referred to being *Asa* (1 Kin. xxii. 43). Asa's *first ways* (ch. xiv., xv.) were good, his latter ways (ch. xvi.), according to the Chronicler, were evil.

unto the Baalim] Baal is not a proper name, but a title meaning "Lord," which was given to false gods generally. Israel might not call Jehovah, "My Baal" (*Baali*), Hos. ii. 16, 17. See the note on 1 Chr. viii. 33.

4. *after the doings of Israel*] Cp. xiii. 8, 9.

5. *brought...presents*] Probably congratulatory gifts at his accession; cp. 1 Sam. x. 27.

riches and honour] Cp. xviii. 1.

6. *furthermore he took away*] But in xx. 33=1 Kin. xxii. 43 it is said that the high places were *not* taken away. It is remarkable that the contradiction finds an exact parallel in what is said of Asa (see xiv. 3 and xv. 17=1 Kin. xv. 14). How can the presence of these curious contradictions be explained? It is held by some that the Chronicler in both cases has incorporated contradictory traditions, and that "such discrepancies did not trouble the Hebrew historian." To the present writer it seems more probable to suppose that *only* xiv. 3 and xvii. 6 (the statements that the high places *were* removed), are from the Chronicler himself; the passages which assert the contrary, viz. xv. 17 (=1 Kin. xv. 14) and xx. 33 (=1 Kin. xxii. 43) being later additions. They were added by someone who, troubled by the divergence between Kings and Chron., judged it desirable to supplement or correct the Chronicler's words by adding a more or less exact transcription of the summaries of the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat as recorded in Kings. If xv. 17 and xx. 33 are later additions, it is evident that the Chronicler asserts the same reform to have been made in two successive reigns. But this is not a serious difficulty. He may easily have supposed that the removal of the high places (i.e. the

out of Judah. Also in the third year of his reign he sent 7
his princes, even Benhail, and Obadiah, and Zechariah, and
Nethanel, and Micaiah, to teach in the cities of Judah;
and with them the Levites, even Shemaiah, and Nethaniah, 8
and Zebadiah, and Asahel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehonathan,
and Adonijah, and Tobijah, and Tobadonijah, the Levites;

discontinuance of worship at these local sanctuaries) was but a partial success, an official rather than an actual reform; and one suspects also that the phrase for the Chronicler was largely conventional: a reform with which all "good" kings should presumably be credited.

the Asherim] See note on xiv. 3.

7—9 (no parallel in 1 Kin.). JEHOSHAPHAT'S PROVISION FOR TEACHING THE LAW.

7—9. These verses state that Jehoshaphat was not content with the usual reforming measures of a pious king (ver. 6) but proceeded to confirm his people in loyalty to Jehovah by sending leading laymen, Levites, and priests, to teach the Law throughout the land. If vv. 7—9 be compared with xix. 4—11 the two passages will at once be seen to be so closely similar that they may well be variations of the same tradition. Still the description in xix. 4—11 is fuller and suggests arrangements of a permanent character; and, whilst xvii. 7—9 deals with *teachers* of the Law, xix. 4—11 deals with administrators of it (*judges*). It is argued with force that this single or dual tradition is entirely unhistorical (so Wellhausen and Torrey). Certainly the arrangements for the judiciary and for instruction in the Law correspond with conditions *c.* 100 B.C. (see Schürer, *Geschichte*[3], II. 176—179), conditions which probably in the Chronicler's day were partly existent and which he may have hoped to see more fully realised. That he should wish to ascribe the institution of such a system of instruction and justice to an early date is also agreeable to his habit of thought; and for such a purpose Jehoshaphat was obviously most suitable: a good king, whose name denoted "Jehovah is judge." Mark further the similarity of the conclusion of each reform: "And the fear of the LORD was on all the kingdoms of the lands..." (xvii. 10 and xx. 29) and the remarkable prosperity which properly rewarded such pious action (xvii. 11 ff. and xx. 1—28). Yet the possibility that the Chronicler in these passages has incorporated a really old tradition associating Jehoshaphat with some reform or development of judicial affairs in Judah remains open. Some see an old trait in the conjunction of laymen (*princes*, xvii. 7) with the priests and Levites. Again the judicial system indicated in xix. 4—11 has no little resemblance to that set forth in Deut. xvi. 18—20, xvii. 8, "and might have been derived from that source." On this theory, xvii. 7—9 and xix. 4—11 would in all likelihood be derived by the Chronicler from some "source" or rather perhaps from two "sources" giving slightly different accounts

9 and with them Elishama and Jehoram, the priests. And they taught in Judah, having the book of the law of the LORD with them; and they went about throughout all the
10 cities of Judah, and taught among the people. And [1]the fear of the LORD fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war
11 against Jehoshaphat. And some of the Philistines brought Jehoshaphat presents, and silver for tribute; the Arabians also brought him flocks, seven thousand and seven hundred rams, and seven thousand and seven hundred he-goats.
12 And Jehoshaphat waxed great exceedingly; and he built in
13 Judah castles and cities of store. And he had many works

[1] Or, *a terror from the* LORD

of Jehoshaphat's procedure; and this is the view of some commentators (so Kittel and Benzinger). But close examination of the language of both passages reveals strong characteristics of the Chronicler's style and spirit; and it seems safer to conclude that, while there *may* possibly have been some tradition connecting Jehoshaphat with such reforms, this account in Chron. is essentially due to the Chronicler and reflects the situation of his own times.

9. *the book of the law of the* LORD] The Chronicler of course meant by this the Pentateuch as we have it. If, however, these verses are drawn from an old source (see the previous note) then the reference in the original may have been to one of the earlier codes embedded in the present Pentateuch.

10—13 (no parallel in 1 Kin.). THE GREATNESS OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

10. *the fear of the* LORD] Cp. xx. 29; Gen. xxxv. 5.

11. *some of the Philistines*] See the following note, and also xxvi. 6 (note).

the Arabians] Cp. xxi. 16. The term is here used to signify the desert tribes, in particular those on the south and south-west of Judah. It would be specially impressive to the contemporaries of the Chronicler, because by that period an Arabian people, the Nabateans, had established a powerful state to the south of Judah. On the other hand the Philistines would of course be familiar from the references to them in Sam. and Kin. The tradition that tribute was received from them and from some desert tribes may possibly be correct, especially if Zerah's army was Arabian (xiv. 8, note) and if Asa's victory over him is historical.

flocks] Cp. 2 Kin. iii. 4.

12. *castles*] Heb. *bīrānîyyōth*; cp. xxvii. 4 (same word); and xxvi. 10 ("towers"). Such small castles or towers lie scattered along the pilgrim-road from Damascus to Mecca at the present day to make the way safe. See Introd. § 7, p. xlviii.

cities of store] Cp. xi. 11, 12.

in the cities of Judah; and men of war, mighty men of valour, in Jerusalem. And this was the numbering of them 14
according to their fathers' houses: of Judah, the captains of thousands; Adnah the captain, and with him mighty men of valour three hundred thousand: and next to him 15
Jehohanan the captain, and with him two hundred and fourscore thousand: and next to him Amasiah the son of 16
Zichri, who willingly offered himself unto the LORD; and with him two hundred thousand mighty men of valour: and of Benjamin; Eliada a mighty man of valour, and 17
with him two hundred thousand armed with bow and shield: and next to him Jehozabad, and with him an hundred and 18
fourscore thousand ready prepared for war. These were 19
they that waited on the king, beside those whom the king put in the fenced cities throughout all Judah.

14—19 (no parallel in 1 Kin.). THE NUMBER OF JEHOSHAPHAT'S ARMY.

In these verses Jehoshaphat is credited with an army of 1,160,000 men; and the passage may be noted as the most extreme instance of the midrashic exaggeration of numbers which is a well-marked feature of the Chronicler's writing. If the possible proportions between the total numbers of a population and the men capable of military service at a given time be considered, it is easy to realise how monstrous an exaggeration are the figures here stated. They serve two purposes: (1) compared with the somewhat smaller numbers assigned to Abijah (xiii. 3) and to Asa (xiv. 8), they indicate that Jehoshaphat's reign was even more prosperous; and (2) generally, they suggested to the men of the Chronicler's own generation that in the eyes of all right-thinking men Jerusalem of old in its prosperous hours was not one whit less important and glorious than any huge and much-vaunted city of their own days.

For further examples of midrashic exaggeration, besides the passages named above, cp. xi. 1; 1 Chr. xii. 23, 24; and (as regards sums of money) 1 Chr. xxii. 14; 2 Chr. ix. 13.

15. *next to him*] Lit. *at his hand*; the same phrase is used in Neh. iii. 2, 4, 5, etc.

Jehohanan] Sometimes spelt *Johanan*.

16. *who willingly offered himself*] Cp. Judg. v. 9.

17. *armed with bow and shield*] i.e. light-armed troops; cp. note on xiv. 8.

18 Now Jehoshaphat had riches and honour in abundance;
2 and he joined affinity with Ahab. And after certain years he went down to Ahab to Samaria. And Ahab killed sheep and oxen for him in abundance, and for the people that were with him, and moved him to go up *with him* to
3 Ramoth-gilead. And Ahab king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat king of Judah, Wilt thou go with me to Ramoth-gilead? And he answered him, I am as thou art, and my people as thy people; and *we will be* with thee

Ch. XVIII. 1—3 (cp. 1 Kin. xxii. 1—4). The Alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab.

1. *joined affinity*] Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat married Athaliah the daughter of Ahab (2 Kin. viii. 16, 18, 26). Athaliah though called "daughter" of Omri in 2 Kin. viii. 26 was really his grand-daughter.

2. *killed sheep and oxen*] This phrase implies a *feast*, for flesh is eaten in the East only on festal occasions. The phrase used for supplying necessary food is *to set bread and water before one*.

Ramoth-gilead] Deut. iv. 43; 1 Kin. iv. 13, xxii. 3; 2 Kin. viii. 28, ix. 1 and 14. Ramoth was a city of refuge and (under Solomon) the seat of the governor of a province. Probably it was the most important Israelite city east of Jordan. Its site has not been certainly identified (see Barnes' note on 1 Kin. iv. 13). Probably it was on the Yarmuk near Edrei. In 1 Chr. vi. 80 it is mentioned as a city assigned to the sons of Merari. Apparently it was captured from Israel by the Syrians in the time of Baasha or of Omri, and was not restored in accordance with the treaty referred to in 1 Kin. xx. 34.

3. *and* we will be *with thee in the war*] In 1 Kin. the corresponding phrase is, *my horses as thy horses*. The phrases in 1 Kin. need not be more than the expression of oriental politeness. At the present day the Arab says to his guest, *My house is thy house*, but he generally means very little by the words. The Chronicler, however, interpreting by the event, turns the vaguer phrase of Kin. into a definite promise.

4—27 (=1 Kin. xxii. 5—28). The Prophecy of Micaiah.

This narrative, apart from its intrinsic interest, is of great value for the welcome light it throws upon the prophets in Israel. The direct references of the later Prophets have accustomed us to the thought that *they* had to contend with unworthy representatives of their calling. Here we are made to realise with peculiar vividness that even in the early stages of the national history the false prophet was a menace to Israel's spiritual enlightenment. Micaiah spake few words, yet he deserves to rank with the great Prophets. He resembles them at least in his overmastering conviction of the truth and in his resolution to

in the war. And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, 4
Inquire, I pray thee, at the word of the LORD to-day.
Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, 5
four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall we go to
Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they
said, Go up; for God shall deliver it into the hand of the
king. But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here besides 6
a prophet of the LORD, that we might inquire of him?
And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet 7
one man by whom we may inquire of the LORD: but I hate
him; for he never prophesieth good concerning me, but
always evil: the same is Micaiah the son of Imla. And
Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king say so. Then the king 8
of Israel called an [1]officer, and said, Fetch quickly Micaiah

[1] Or, *eunuch*

proclaim it, whatever cost of personal suffering it may entail. His opponents were professedly servants of Jehovah, and it is noteworthy that Micaiah does not accuse them of deliberate intent to deceive Ahab but rather of self-deception and ignorance of the truth (ver. 21). Their ignorance of course was blameworthy, for it was due to their willingness to prophesy smooth things: they lacked that utter integrity of heart and entire devotion to his prophetic calling which Micaiah possessed.

4. *Jehoshaphat*] Cp. 2 Kin. iii. 11.

Inquire...at the word] Cp. Dan. ii. 10 (A.V.), "no king...asked such things at any magician." The use of "at" after verbs of asking is obsolete.

5. *the prophets*] These no doubt were prophets of Jehovah (not of Baal); cp. ver. 4 and note on ver. 6.

Shall we go...or shall I forbear?] In 1 Kin., "Shall I go...or shall I forbear?" (so LXX., but not Pesh., of Chron.).

6. *But Jehoshaphat said*] The insertion of this lengthy account of an event which principally concerns the Northern Kingdom is remarkable, seeing that the Chronicler nowhere else inserts a narrative dealing with the affairs of north Israel. Some commentators find the chief motive for its insertion in this verse which credits Jehoshaphat with an honourable desire to ascertain Jehovah's real will. A secondary motive may be that the story shows very clearly the obstinate wickedness of Ahab, as the Chronicler would regard it, and so lends point to the censure which is subsequently passed on Jehoshaphat (xix. 2) for his alliance with the northern king.

Is there not here besides a prophet of the LORD] Or, **Hath not the LORD here yet another prophet.** The unanimity of the four hundred prophets aroused the suspicion of Jehoshaphat.

8. *called an officer*] The Heb. word means "eunuch." From

9 the son of Imla. Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat
the king of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed in their
robes, and they sat in [1]an open place at the entrance of the
gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before
10 them. And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him
horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With these
11 shalt thou push the Syrians, until they be consumed. And
all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-
gilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it into the
12 hand of the king. And the messenger that went to call
Micaiah spake to him, saying, Behold, the words of the
prophets *declare* good to the king with one mouth: let thy
word therefore, I pray thee, be like one of theirs, and speak
13 thou good. And Micaiah said, As the LORD liveth, what
14 my God saith, that will I speak. And when he was come
to the king, the king said unto him, [2]Micaiah, shall we go to
Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And he said,
Go ye up, and prosper; and they shall be delivered into
15 your hand. And the king said to him, How many times
shall I adjure thee that thou speak unto me nothing but the
16 truth in the name of the LORD? And he said, I saw all

[1] Heb. *a threshing-floor.* [2] Heb. *Micah.*

1 Sam. viii. 15 we may perhaps conclude that such officers were known in Israel from the very beginning of the monarchy. Cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 1, note.

9. *in an open place*] Render, **in a threshing-floor.** The threshing-floor was convenient as being a large flat open space; cp. Gen. l. 10; 1 Chr. xiii. 9, xxi. 18 ff.

10. *made him horns of iron*] For a similar use of symbolic action by a prophet cp. Jer. xxvii. 2 (also xxviii. 10). For the meaning of the phrase cp. Amos vi. 13, "Have we not taken to us horns?" i.e. "Have we not acquired military power?"

shalt thou push] Cp. Deut. xxxiii. 17. So Rameses II is described in an Egyptian psalm as "the strong bull against the Ethiopians; his horn pushes them." (Erman, *Ancient Egypt*, Eng. Tr., p. 57.)

13. *what my God saith*] Render. **surely, what my God shall say.** The Divine message has not yet come to the prophet.

14. *Go ye up...into your hand*] Micaiah addresses both kings. In 1 Kin. Ahab only is addressed, *Go and prosper, for the* LORD *shall deliver it into the hand of the king.* Micaiah repeats in mocking tones the utterance of the other prophets.

15. *that thou speak unto me nothing but the truth*] The scorn in Micaiah's voice was noticed by the king.

Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no master; let them return every man to his house in peace. And the 17
king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy good concerning me, but evil? And 18
he said, Therefore hear ye the word of the LORD: I saw the LORD sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left. And 19
the LORD said, Who shall [1]entice Ahab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one spake saying after this manner, and another saying after that manner. And there came forth [2]a spirit, and stood before 20

[1] Or, *deceive* [2] Heb. *the spirit.*

16. *as sheep that have no shepherd*] Cp. Matt. ix. 36.

the LORD said, These have no master; let them return, etc.] The prophet has had a vision of Israel's army, defeated and scattered, like a flock of sheep wandering shepherdless upon the mountains. God, he means, proclaims that in the coming battle their king will fall and they will be beaten and dispersed.

18. *And he said*] There are three stages in the prophet's dealings with the king, (1) irony in ver. 14, (2) serious advice in ver. 16, (3) denunciation of death in vv. 18—22.

the host of heaven] angelic beings are meant, as in Ps. ciii. 21, and probably also in Neh. ix. 6; Dan. iv. 35, etc., but in these passages the usual meaning "the stars" is possible. The parallel verse in Kings (1 Kin. xxii. 19) is apparently the earliest clear instance of the phrase in the significance "angelic beings."

19. *Who shall entice Ahab*] So 1 Kin. (R.V.). The same Heb. word is used in Jer. xx. 7, "thou hast deceived (mg. 'enticed') me," where Jeremiah complains that he has been called to the fruitless labour of a hated prophet. For the underlying thought that delusion is sometimes a preliminary part of Divine punishment cp. 2 Thess. ii. 11 (cp. *ibid.* 9) and the famous saying, "quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat." It should be noted however that the "lying spirit" in the mouth of the 400 prophets played only a subordinate part in Ahab's fall, and indeed could have played no part at all, but for the fact that the king was more than willing to be enticed. Ahab had already made up his mind; he consulted the 400 only as an afterthought to satisfy Jehoshaphat (ver. 4), he excluded the plain-speaking Micaiah until Jehoshaphat insisted on his presence (vv. 6, 7), and he scorned the true prophet's warning of the falseness of the 400 (ver. 26). Delusion as a Divine punishment comes only upon the man who is willing to be deluded.

20. *a spirit*] Heb. *the spirit*, but the definite art. simply singles out

the LORD, and said, I will entice him. And the LORD said
21 unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and
will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And
he said, Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go
22 forth, and do so. Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath
put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy prophets; and
23 the LORD hath spoken evil concerning thee. Then Zedekiah
the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah upon
the cheek, and said, Which way went the spirit of the LORD
24 from me to speak unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold,
thou shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go [1]into an inner
25 chamber to hide thyself. And the king of Israel said, Take
ye Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the governor of

[1] Or, *from chamber to chamber*

one spirit from the rest. The Evil Spirit (Heb. "the Satan") is not meant here but simply a superhuman being, such as was generally conceived to be the cause of the ecstatic condition manifested by prophets of this type (cp. 1 Sam. x. 5, 6).

22. *the LORD hath put a lying spirit...*] This and the preceding verse are singularly interesting for the frankness with which they apparently regard Jehovah as causing *moral* evil. Of course the passage is not to be regarded as a philosophical pronouncement on the origin of moral evil. Rather is it to be treated as a naive expression regarding a great fact of human life—see the conclusion of the note on ver. 19, *who shall entice Ahab*. *Physical* evils are constantly declared in the O.T. to originate in Jehovah's will; they are often sent by Him as punishments for sin. Here too it is only as the penalty of previous sinfulness (ver. 8 "I hate him") that the evil moral condition of the prophets who are deluded by the lying spirit from Jehovah is imposed. A parallel may be found in Ezek. xiv. 1—11. It is, however, a higher plane of thought when Jeremiah expresses the conviction that the false prophets of his day are not inspired at all by Jehovah, but speak solely out of their own hearts (Jer. xxiii. 16, 21).

23. *Zedekiah*] He takes the lead as in ver. 10.

smote...upon the cheek] This phrase is tantamount to "gave an insulting blow"; cp. Mic. v. 1; Matt. v. 39.

24. *Behold, thou shalt see*] Micaiah answers Zedekiah's gibe with the verb "see" (rather than "know") because of its double meaning, "Behold, thou shalt be a seer, thou shalt possess the power of vision," *when it is too late.*

go into an inner chamber] i.e. seek safety in hiding from enemies; cp. 1 Kin. xx. 30 (same Heb. phrase).

25. *carry him back*] Micaiah is not to accompany the expedition, having foretold its failure.

the city, and to Joash the king's son; and say, Thus saith 26
the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with
bread of affliction and with water of affliction, until I return
in peace. And Micaiah said, If thou return at all in peace, 27
the LORD hath not spoken by me. And he said, Hear, ye
peoples, all of you.

So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah 28
went up to Ramoth-gilead. And the king of Israel said 29
unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and go into the
battle; but put thou on thy robes. So the king of Israel
disguised himself; and they went into the battle. Now the 30
king of Syria had commanded the captains of his chariots,
saying, Fight neither with small nor great, save only with
the king of Israel. And it came to pass, when the captains 31
of the chariots saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, It is the
king of Israel. Therefore they turned about to fight against

26. *bread of affliction...water of affliction*] Cp. Ezek. iv. 9—11.

27. *ye peoples, all of you*] The "peoples" represented at this gathering were probably, Israel, Judah, Edom, and Moab. The clause occurs in Micah i. 2, and in all probability has been added to the text of Kings (which the Chronicler here copies) by a glossator, who perhaps thought that Micaiah and Micah were one and the same person.

28—34 (= 1 Kin. xxii. 29—37). THE DEATH OF AHAB AT RAMOTH-GILEAD.

29. *I will disguise myself*] Despite the warning uttered by Micaiah the two kings decide to seek battle, and Ahab, whose failing was not the lack of courage, resolved to take part in the fighting. To avert the fulfilment of the prophecy, he suggests that he should not wear his royal insignia, whilst Jehoshaphat, whose life had not been threatened, should wear his robes and be the obvious leader of the allied army.

and they went into the battle] 1 Kin. (more correctly) *and he* (Ahab) *went into the battle* (so LXX. here).

30. *the captains of his chariots*] *Thirty-two* in number (1 Kin.). While the rest of the Syrian army met the Israelite attack, the chariots were to act as an independent force, whose primary task should be to kill or capture Ahab. The king of Syria felt himself overmatched and thought that the only chance of victory lay in the fall of the Israelite commander. Cp. 2 Kin. iii. 26 (the king of Moab tries to break through to the king of Edom).

31. *saw Jehoshaphat...to fight*] The captains of the chariots who had been instructed to direct all their efforts towards slaying the king of Israel, at length perceived Jehoshaphat conspicuous in his royal robes.

him: but Jehoshaphat cried out, and the LORD helped him;
32 and God moved them *to depart* from him. And it came to
pass, when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not
the king of Israel, that they turned back from pursuing
33 him. And a certain man drew his bow [1]at a venture, and
smote the king of Israel between [2]the joints of the harness:
wherefore he said to the driver of the chariot, Turn thine
hand, and carry me out of the host; for I am sore wounded.
34 And the battle increased that day: howbeit the king of
Israel stayed himself up in his chariot against the Syrians
until the even: and about the time of the going down of
the sun he died.

19 And Jehoshaphat the king of Judah returned to his house
2 in peace to Jerusalem. And Jehu the son of Hanani the

[1] Heb. *in his simplicity.*
[2] Or, *the lower armour and the breastplate*

The various chariots turned aside from lesser enemies, and then, discovering their mistake and obeying their orders, left him to continue their search for Ahab.

and God moved them to depart *from him*] These words anticipate ver. 32 and are not found in 1 Kin. Jehoshaphat's cry was to his soldiers for aid, but the Chronicler apparently took it to be a cry to Jehovah, and accordingly added these words.

33. *And a certain man drew a bow*] Render, **But a certain man had drawn a bow.** God had already brought about that which the Syrians were labouring to perform.

at a venture] lit. **in his innocence**, i.e. without knowing that he was aiming at Ahab. Cp. 2 Sam. xv. 11.

between the joints of the harness] Probably between the breastplate (or coat of mail) and the appendages to it; the wound would be in the lower part of the body.

34. *stayed himself up in his chariot*] 1 Kin. *was stayed up.* Ahab sustained his reputation as a good soldier (cp. 1 Kin. xx. 14, xxii. 31) to the last; his death caused the failure of the attack on Ramoth (1 Kin. xxii. 36).

CH. XIX. **1—3** (no parallel in Kings). THE REPROOF OF JEHU THE PROPHET.

1. *in peace*] i.e. in safety. LXX. (B) om. the phrase.

2. *Jehu the son of Hanani*] He must have been an old man at this time, for he had prophesied against Baasha (1 Kin. xvi. 1), since whose reign two kings had ruled in Israel, viz., Omri (12 years) and Ahab (22 years). It appears, however, as if the Chronicler ignored or

seer went out to meet him, and said to king Jehoshaphat, Shouldest thou help the wicked, and love them that hate the LORD? for this thing wrath is upon thee from before the LORD. Nevertheless there are good things found in 3
thee, in that thou hast put away the Asheroth out of the land, and hast set thine heart to seek God.

And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out 4
again among the people from Beer-sheba to the hill country of Ephraim, and brought them back unto the LORD, the God of their fathers. And he set judges in the land 5

overlooked 1 Kin. xvi. 1, for in 2 Chr. xvi. 7 Hanani, Jehu's father, is mentioned rebuking Asa, Jehoshaphat's father. The two passages, in Kin. and Chron., are not hopelessly irreconcilable, but together they yield a very odd and improbable sequence: the son active in Baasha's reign, the father in Asa's, and again after some 40 years the son in Jehoshaphat's time!

and love them that hate the LORD] Cp. Ps. cxxxix. 21, 22. Actually, of course, Ahab even in this narrative appears as an adherent of Jehovah, whose prophets he consults. The phrase "them that hate the LORD" reflects the Chronicler's view of north Israel.

for this thing] Israel (in the Chronicler's eyes) being wholly and utterly bad, apostate from Jehovah, Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab had to be construed as a most serious sin which should meet with severe punishment.

wrath is upon thee] the impending visitation of anger comes to pass in the invasion of the Moabite and Ammonite tribes described in ch. xx. For "wrath" (Heb. *keṣeph*) cp. 2 Kin. iii. 27, R.V. mg.

3. *good things*] Cp. xii. 12 (note).

the Asheroth] plur. of "Asherah"; cp. notes on xiv. 3, and xv. 16.

4—11 (no parallel in Kings). JEHOSHAPHAT'S HOME POLICY FOR INSTRUCTION IN THE LAW AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

4—11. This section has already been discussed in connection with xvii. 7—9, where see the head-note. Cp. also the Introd. § 7, p. li.

4. *Beer-sheba*] Cp. note on 1 Chr. iv. 28.

brought them back] Some further measures against idolatry seem to be meant.

5. *And he set judges*] Cp. ver. 11 "also the Levites shall be officers"; and Deut. xvi. 18 "judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates."

In the earliest days justice was administered in Israel, as among the Bedouin of to-day, probably by all heads of families and (in difficult cases) by the one head who was distinguished above the rest for impartiality and for knowledge of tribal custom. In later days when

throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city, and
6 said to the judges, Consider what ye do: for ye judge not
for man, but for the LORD; and *he is* with you [1]in the
7 judgement. Now therefore let the fear of the LORD be
upon you; take heed and do it: for there is no iniquity
with the LORD our God, nor respect of persons, nor taking
8 of gifts. Moreover in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of
the Levites and the priests, and of the heads of the fathers'
houses of Israel, for the judgement of the LORD, and for
9 controversies. And they returned to Jerusalem. And he
charged them, saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the
10 LORD, faithfully, and with a perfect heart. And whensoever

[1] Or, *in giving judgement* Heb. *in the matter of judgement.*

Israel was settled in Canaan the "elders of the cities" and the "elders of the priests" exercised the same functions. The priests also at the great shrines, by their responses in matters brought for the decision of the Divine oracle, exercised an important part in the development and administration of law in Israel. In the monarchic period the King acted as a judge before whom difficult and important disputes seem to have been brought. His willingness to hear such cases (2 Sam. viii. 15, xv. 3 ff.) and his wisdom in deciding them (1 Kin. iii. 9, etc.) evidently affected his authority and popularity to no small extent. In the present passage it is noteworthy that the King delegates this authority even in Jerusalem.

Jehoshaphat's measures, as here described, are twofold, (1) to establish judges throughout the cities of Judah (cp. Deut. xvi. 18), (2) to establish (in accordance with Deut. xvii. 8 ff.) a kind of court of appeal in Jerusalem itself.

8. *for the judgement of the LORD, and for controversies*] By the first expression the Chronicler refers to religious as contrasted with civil cases (*controversies*), or perhaps more generally to matters regarding which some decision could be found in the Law of the Lord (i.e. in the Pentateuch, according to the Chronicler's belief). The second phrase ("controversies") probably means civil disputes for which arbitration, rather than a strictly legal decision, was suitable.

And they returned to Jerusalem] These words are certainly a textual mistake. Read either, **And they** (the judges appointed by Jehoshaphat) **dwelt in Jerusalem**: i.e. the most difficult cases could *always* be decided in Jerusalem, because the judges were always there. Or read, *and for the controversies* **of the inhabitants of Jerusalem** (cp. LXX.). In either case the change in Heb. is very slight.

9. *a perfect heart*] i e. a heart undivided in its allegiance; cp. 1 Chr. xii. 38. The judges were not to attempt to combine the service of God with the taking of bribes.

any controversy shall come to you from your brethren that dwell in their cities, between blood and blood, between law and commandment, statutes and judgements, ye shall warn them, that they be not guilty towards the LORD, and so wrath come upon you and upon your brethren: this do, and ye shall not be guilty. And, behold, Amariah the 11
chief priest is over you in all matters of the LORD; and Zebadiah the son of Ishmael, the ruler of the house of Judah, in all the king's matters: also the Levites shall be officers before you. [1]Deal courageously, and the LORD be with the good.

And it came to pass after this, that the children of Moab, 20
and the children of Ammon, and with them some of the [2]Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle. Then 2

[1] Heb. *Be strong and do.*
[2] Perhaps an error for *Meunim*. So the Sept. See ch. xxvi. 7.

10. *between blood and blood*] To decide between one kind of blood-shedding and another, i.e. between manslaughter and murder. Deut. xvii. 8.

between law and commandment] To decide what particular ordinance applies to a particular case.

ye shall warn them] Cp. Ezek. iii. 17—21.

wrath] Heb. *keseph*; see note on ver. 2.

11. *Amariah*] Perhaps the one mentioned in 1 Chr. vi. 11 [v. 37, Heb.].

matters of the LORD] i.e. in all religious and ritual questions. Contrast *the king's matters*, i.e. civil cases, such probably as questions of taxation, military service, and so forth.

officers before you] i.e. waiting to execute your instructions.

CH. XX. 1—4 (no parallel in Kings). THE INVASION OF THE MOABITES AND THEIR ALLIES.

Vv. 1—30 of this chapter present an edifying tale of a miraculous victory gained by Jehoshaphat over an invading horde of desert tribes, a victory gained solely through prayer to Jehovah and without a single blow being struck by a Judean soldier. The whole narrative is an admirable example of midrashic narrative, and should be compared with xiv. 9—15 and xiii. 3—20, where see notes. Regarding the possibility of an historical foundation for the tale, see the Introd. § 7, pp. xlix, l, and cp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, pp. 272, 273.

1. *some of the Ammonites*] Read, **some of the Meunim**. They

there came some that told Jehoshaphat, saying, There
cometh a great multitude against thee from beyond the
sea from Syria; and, behold, they be in Hazazon-tamar
3 (the same is En-gedi). And Jehoshaphat feared, and set
himself to seek unto the LORD; and he proclaimed a fast
4 throughout all Judah. And Judah gathered themselves
together, to seek *help* of the LORD: even out of all the
5 cities of Judah they came to seek the LORD. And
Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and
Jerusalem, in the house of the LORD, before the new
6 court; and he said, O LORD, the God of our fathers, art

were an Arabian people whose name seems to be preserved in that of *Ma'ān*, an Edomitic village (south-east of Petra) on the pilgrim route between Damascus and Mecca. The LXX. here, as also in xxvi. 7; 1 Chr. iv. 41, has Μειναῖοι (Μιναῖοι), and probably intended thereby the Minaeans, a people who established a powerful kingdom in South Arabia (see the note on 1 Chr. iv. 41).

2. *from Syria*] So also LXX., but undoubtedly the correct reading is **from Edom**. Confusion of two letters of almost identical shape in Heb. (a ר for a ד) accounts for the difference.

Hazazon-tamar] Gen. xiv. 7. The name seems to describe the place as *stony* and as containing *palm-trees*. It is in fact an oasis.

the same is En-gedi] Cp. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography* as quoted above, and Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 171. En gedi is on the west coast of the Dead Sea at a point where a rugged pass leads up into the hill country of Judah.

3. *proclaimed a fast*] A fast involved the assembling of the people; 1 Kin. xxi. 9, 12; Jer. xxxvi. 6, 9; Joel ii. 15. Special fasts were proclaimed for war, famine, or any other calamity or serious event.

5—13 (no parallel in Kings). THE PRAYER OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

This prayer should be compared with Solomon's (vi. 14 ff.).

5. *stood*] Rather, **rose up**.

before the new court] The Temple of Solomon, strictly speaking, had only one court, but the Chronicler speaks of it in terms which seem more appropriate to the post-exilic Temple with its inner and outer courts (see the note on iv. 9). The terms he uses, however, are unhappily vague and it is not quite easy to determine the precise meaning. Thus here, the word used for "court" is *ḥāṣēr*, which according to iv. 9 ought to mean the inner court, the court of the priests, as distinguished from the outer court of the people, the "*'azārāh*." On this view, the phrase means that Jehoshaphat was in the *'azārāh*, standing not *in* but *before* the *ḥāṣēr* of the priests. But the inner court must be the old original court, and it seems quite impossible that the Chronicler, as he

not thou God in heaven? and art not thou ruler over all the kingdoms of the nations? and in thine hand is power and might, so that none is able to withstand thee. Didst 7 not thou, O our God, drive out the inhabitants of this land before thy people Israel, and gavest it to the seed of Abraham thy friend for ever? And they dwelt therein, 8 and have built thee a sanctuary therein for thy name, saying, If evil come upon us, [1]the sword, judgement, or 9 pestilence, or famine, we will stand before this house, and before thee, (for thy name is in this house,) and cry unto thee in our affliction, and thou wilt hear and save. And 10 now, behold, the children of Ammon and Moab and mount Seir, whom thou wouldest not let Israel invade, when they

[1] Or, *the sword of judgement*

does here, should describe it as *new*: that adjective can be applicable only to a secondary, outer, court. We must therefore suppose that he here uses the word *hāṣēr* for the court he elsewhere designates by the special term *'azārāh*. The correct interpretation then is that Jehoshaphat stood *before* the new, the outer court, i.e. he stood at the inner side of the outer court with his back towards the inner court and looking out towards the containing wall and the entrances where the people were grouped. Both interpretations come to much the same thing, but the point of language deserves attention.

6. *art not thou God*] Cp. Josh. ii. 11.
ruler over all the kingdoms] Cp. Ps. xxii. 28.
is power] Cp. xiv. 11 (Asa's prayer).
7. *drive out*] Cp. Deut. ix. 5
thy friend] Cp. Is. xli. 8.
9. *the sword, judgement*] Render with mg. **the sword of judgement** (cp. Ezek. xiv. 17).
10. *mount Seir*] Here, and in ver. 23 in the enumeration of the allied peoples, "Mount Seir" which was situated in the Edomite territory takes the place of the "Meunim" of ver. 1. It is clear, however, that the same contingent is meant, and no difficulty arises if Meunim denotes people from the Edomite district near the town Ma'īn: see note on ver. 1. Even if the south Arabian Minaeans were meant, it might be said that the two peoples were cognate and that Minaean invaders in passing through Mount Seir would probably bring along with them Edomite kinsmen. The region loosely denoted by Mount Seir was practically synonymous with Edom, extending from the south of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akaba.
whom thou wouldest not, etc.] Cp. Deut. ii. 4, 5, 9, 19; see also Num. xx. 14—21.

came out of the land of Egypt, but they turned aside from
11 them, and destroyed them not; behold, how they reward
us, to come to cast us out of thy possession, which thou
12 hast given us to inherit. O our God, wilt thou not judge
them? for we have no might against this great company
that cometh against us; neither know we what to do: but
13 our eyes are upon thee. And all Judah stood before the
LORD, with their little ones, their wives, and their children.
14 Then upon Jahaziel the son of Zechariah, the son of
Benaiah, the son of Jeiel, the son of Mattaniah, the Levite,
of the sons of Asaph, came the spirit of the LORD in the
15 midst of the congregation; and he said, Hearken ye, all
Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king
Jehoshaphat: thus saith the LORD unto you, Fear not ye,
neither be dismayed by reason of this great multitude; for
16 the battle is not yours, but God's. To-morrow go ye down
against them: behold, they come up by the ascent of Ziz;
and ye shall find them at the end of the valley, before the
17 wilderness of Jeruel. Ye shall not need to fight in this
battle: set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the salvation
of the LORD with you, O Judah and Jerusalem: fear not,

11. *thy possession*] A "possession" means that which one takes possession of by the sword. Canaan is God's "possession" because it was conquered by His arm (Ps. xliv. 3).

12. *our eyes are upon thee*] Cp. xiv. 11.

13. *their little ones...and their children*] Cp. xxxi. 18, "their little ones...and their sons and their daughters." "Little ones" (Heb. *taph*) seems always to mean quite small children.

14—19 (no parallel in Kings). THE PROPHECY OF JAHAZIEL.

14. *Jahaziel*] Nothing is known of him beyond what is recorded in this chapter. His name is significant ("God giveth visions").

15. *the battle is not yours, but God's*] Jahaziel gives a special turn to the general truth, "The battle is the Lord's" (David to Goliath, 1 Sam. xvii. 47).

16. *the ascent of Ziz*] The exact positions of this and of the "valley" and of the "wilderness" mentioned in this ver. are uncertain, but probably the invaders followed not the direct road from En-gedi to Beth-lehem, but one a little to the left of this.

the valley] (Heb. *nahal*), strictly "ravine" or "water-course."

17. *stand ye still, and see the salvation of the LORD*] This saying magnificently expresses the very essence of this story of deliverance won

nor be dismayed: to-morrow go out against them; for the
LORD is with you. And Jehoshaphat bowed his head with 18
his face to the ground: and all Judah and the inhabitants
of Jerusalem fell down before the LORD, worshipping the
LORD. And the Levites, of the children of the Kohathites 19
and of the children of the Korahites, stood up to praise the

by faith. And further it reveals the deepest aspect of the Chronicler's attitude to life. It is the living heart of the whole history as he tells it. We are impatient of the mechanical and grandiose elements in his work, because the taste for such exaggeration has passed away and the necessity for laying stress on the ritual of religion has little relevance for our times. But all criticism of the books of Chronicles is superficial which fails to see that the writer is inspired by a splendid faith in God and a grand determination to maintain the religious attitude as the one ultimate key to life's meaning. The present story is intended to assert the value of reliance upon God, in the midst of overwhelming peril still "trust in God and do the right"; and to assert this in the strongest conceivable terms. Thus it is related that the victory was gained without any need for Jehoshaphat's *grande armée* of 1,160,000 men! Turn from the tale to the circumstances of the post-exilic Jewish community, and the heroism of such teaching leaps to light. It is when we are surrounded by unscrupulous and powerful foes and have not 1000 soldiers, far less 1,000,000, that the reality of our trust in God and goodness is put to the test. "Aye," says the Chronicler, "but, if like Jehoshaphat you *had* 1,000,000, it is still the supreme duty of man to rely on God." Great teaching, and greatly followed by the enfeebled yet indomitable Jews. While they were thus helpless, Jehovah wrought for Israel, even as the Chronicler relates that He destroyed the enemies of Jehoshaphat in the wilderness of Jeruel. "The Jews stood still and saw the working out of their deliverance; great Empires wrestled together—Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman—like Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in the agony of the death struggle: and over all the tumult of battle Israel heard the voice of Jehovah, 'The battle is not yours, but God's;...set yourselves, stand ye still, and see the deliverance of Jehovah with you, O Judah and Jerusalem'" (Bennett, *Chronicles*, p. 387). Certainly the post-exilic Jews were so weak that trust in their own armed power was at almost all times manifestly absurd, yet this does not mean that they were thereby driven to the policy of quiet faith. There was an alternative ever before them—despair and unbelief: *that* they resolutely refused. Such were the stern realities which ought to be weighed when we seek to realise the moral and spiritual worth of the Chronicler and his doctrines.

19. *the Korahites*] The Korahites were a branch of the Kohathites (1 Chr. vi. 22 [7, Heb.], 37, 38 [22, 23, Heb.]); the Chronicler simply

LORD, the God of Israel, with an exceeding loud voice.
20 And they rose early in the morning, and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa: and as they went forth, Jehoshaphat stood and said, Hear me, O Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem; believe in the LORD your God, so shall ye be
21 established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper. And when he had taken counsel with the people, he appointed them that should sing unto the LORD, and praise [1]the beauty of holiness, as they went out before the army, and say, Give thanks unto the LORD; for his mercy *endureth* for ever.
22 And when they began to sing and to praise, the LORD set liers in wait against the children of Ammon, Moab, and

[1] Or, *in the beauty of holiness*

defines his first statement; those who stood up to praise were Kohathites by clan, Korahites by family.

20—25 (no parallel in Kings). THE DELIVERANCE.

20. *Tekoa*] The modern *Teḳu'a*, a ruin on a hill 2790 feet above the sea, about six miles south of Beth-lehem. It was an ancient place; xi. 6; 1 Chr. ii. 24; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Amos i. 1. The "wilderness of Tekoa" means that part of the "wilderness of Judah" which was near Tekoa.

believe...so shall ye be established] Cp. Is. vii. 9, "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established." In both places there is a play on the words in the Heb.; "believe" and "be established" representing two voices of the same verb *ha'amînû...tê'âmênû*.

21. *them that should sing unto the LORD, and praise*] Cp. the preliminaries of the Battle of the Standard fought between the Scots and English in 1138.

the beauty of holiness] Render **in holy attire**, i.e. in priestly garments. Cp. 1 Chr. xvi. 29 (note).

before the army] Contrast Josh. vi. 7, 9 (the armed men precede the Ark).

Give thanks] cp. 1 Chr. xvi. 41.

22. *the LORD set liers in wait*] Comparing Josh. viii. 2, where Joshua is bidden by God to set an ambush, we might suppose that the present phrase implies simply that the Lord suggested to Jehoshaphat the plan of setting an ambush. Such a view, however, seems antagonistic to ver. 17, where the Judeans are told only to stand still and see the salvation wrought by God; and indeed it would detract immensely from the value of the tale as an awe-inspiring marvel. It is preferable to suppose that certain supernatural Divine agents were meant by the Chronicler. If the tradition has an historical basis, some sudden

mount Seir, which were come against Judah; and they were smitten. For the children of Ammon and Moab 23
stood up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy them: and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another. And when Judah came to the watch-tower of the 24
wilderness, they looked upon the multitude; and, behold, they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and there were none that escaped. And when Jehoshaphat and his people 25
came to take the spoil of them, they found among them in abundance both riches and [1] dead bodies, and precious jewels, which they stripped off for themselves, more than they could carry away: and they were three days in taking of the spoil, it was so much. And on the fourth day they assembled 26
themselves in the valley of [2] Beracah; for there they blessed the LORD: therefore the name of that place was called The valley of Beracah, unto this day. Then they returned, every 27

[1] According to some ancient authorities, *garments*.
[2] That is, *Blessing*.

assault was probably made by the inhabitants of the invaded district before the main army from Jerusalem arrived (see the Introd. pp. xlix, l). G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geography*, p. 272) points out that the country between En-gedi and Tekoa is well suited for attack by surprise.

23. *For the children of Ammon*] Render, **And the children of Ammon.** The sudden attack of the "liers in wait" caused a panic and a suspicion of treachery among the allies; so at Gideon's surprise of Midian every man turned his sword against his fellow (Judg. vii. 22).

utterly to slay] Lit. *to devote*, or *put to the ban* (Heb. herem); i.e. to undertake the partial or total destruction of the foe and his possessions as a sacred duty to be performed in honour of God—cp. Lev. xxvii. 28, 29, and Driver's note on Ex. xxii. 20 in this series. Cp. 1 Chr. iv. 41.

24. *to the watch-tower*] Rather "**to the outlook-point,**" i.e. some spot from which they were able to survey the scene of the disaster in the valley by which the enemy were advancing.

25. *they found among them in abundance both riches and dead bodies*] The Heb. text is faulty. Following the LXX. εὗρον κτήνη πολλὰ καὶ ἀποσκευὴν καὶ σκῦλα, read probably **they found much cattle and goods and garments.**

26—30 (no parallel in Kings). THE SEQUEL OF THE DELIVERANCE.

26. *valley of Beracah*] A deserted village *Bereikūt* (south of Tekoa) where there are some very ancient ruins seems to preserve the name.

man of Judah and Jerusalem, and Jehoshaphat in the fore-
front of them, to go again to Jerusalem with joy; for the
28 LORD had made them to rejoice over their enemies. And
they came to Jerusalem with psalteries and harps and
29 trumpets unto the house of the LORD. And the fear of
God was on all the kingdoms of the countries, when they
heard that the LORD fought against the enemies of Israel.
30 So the realm of Jehoshaphat was quiet: for his God gave
him rest round about.

31 And Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah: he was thirty and
five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned
twenty and five years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name
32 was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi. And he walked in the
way of Asa his father, and turned not aside from it, doing
33 that which was right in the eyes of the LORD. Howbeit
the high places were not taken away; neither as yet had
the people set their hearts unto the God of their fathers.
34 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last,

It is possible that the "valley of Jehoshaphat" mentioned by Joel (iii. [iv., Heb.] 2) is to be identified with the scene of Jehoshaphat's deliverance.

29. *was on all*] Rather, **came upon all**; cp. xiv. 14, xvii. 10.

the kingdoms of the countries] a characteristic phrase with the Chronicler; cp. xii. 8, xvii. 10 and 1 Chr. xxix. 30.

31—34 (= 1 Kin. xxii. 41—45). THE SUMMARY OF JEHOSHAPHAT'S REIGN.

There are several variations of text between Kings and Chron. here; and in particular the Chronicler omits the statement that Jehoshaphat made peace with Israel.

31. *reigned over Judah*] In Kings, *began to reign over Judah in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel.* The Chronicler will not date the accession of a southern king by the year of an ungodly northern king.

32. *of Asa his father*] cp. xvii. 3 (note).

33. *the high places*] Precisely the contrary is asserted in xvii. 6, where see note. On the meaning of "high place" see the note on xv. 17.

neither as yet had the people set their hearts] cp. xii. 14. In Kings it is said particularly that the people sacrificed and burnt incense at the high places.

behold, they are written in the [1]history of Jehu the son of Hanani, [2]which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel.

And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel; the same did very wickedly: and he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-geber. 35 36

[1] Heb. *words.* [2] Or, *who is mentioned*

34. *Jehu the son of Hanani*] See xix. 2 (note).

which is inserted] Chronicles of different events were joined together to form one continuous Chronicle; i.e. the *history of Jehu* means a special section of the Book of the Kings of Israel—see Introd. § 5, p. xxxii.

35—37 (cp. 1 Kin. xxii. 48, 49). THE DESTRUCTION OF JEHOSHAPHAT'S FLEET.

The Chronicler gives a somewhat different account of this incident from that in Kings. According to the latter, Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish (i.e. a particular kind of vessel) to sail to Ophir for gold, and *refused* the offer of Ahaziah to cooperate in the enterprise. It is then added that the enterprise failed, as the ships were wrecked at Ezion-geber. The Chronicler, on the other hand, expressly asserts that Jehoshaphat "joined himself" with the wicked Ahaziah in this naval enterprise, and interprets the wreck as a Divine punishment for the sin of the alliance (the disaster being foretold by a prophet). Further he has misunderstood the term "ships of Tarshish" (see note, ver. 36) and makes Tarshish, and not Ophir, the object of the voyage. The whole is said to constitute an instructive example of the freedom with which the narrative in Kings could be handled in the interests of religious teaching. The second divergence, "ships to Tarshish," is only an error of ignorance, but the first is important. Without, however, denying that the Chronicler has been careful to point the moral of his tale, it may be urged that his version is not obtained simply by an arbitrary alteration of Kings, but rather reflects an *independent* account of the affair, perhaps more reliable than that in Kings. Almost certainly Jehoshaphat was still virtually subject to Israel, and the Chronicler's tradition may be true to fact in representing him as partner with Ahaziah from the start of the enterprise. At least the possibility must not be ruled out because the story suited the Chronicler's religious predilections. Again it is quite improbable that the story of the seer of Mareshah is wholly an invention of the Chronicler (see notes on ver. 37). The passage therefore yields some evidence of access to traditions other than those in Kings; and their value deserves to be fairly considered.

36. *ships to go to Tarshish*] In Kings, *ships of Tarshish to go to*

37 Then Eliezer the son of Dodavahu of Mareshah prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath [1]destroyed thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.

21 And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Jehoram his son

[1] Or, *made a breach in*

Ophir: cp. ix. 21 (= 1 Kin. x. 22), note. In both passages the reading of Kings, "ships (or 'navy') *of* Tarshish," i.e. large sea-going ships (cp. Ps. xlviii. 7), is correct, because (1) Ezion-geber was a port for vessels sailing eastward, while Tarshish was in the west, (2) gold, the object of the voyage (cp. 1 Kin. xxii 48), came from Ophir (viii. 18; 1 Kin. ix. 28, x. 11; Ps. xlv. 9).

Tarshish] Cp. 1 Chr. i. 7 (note).

Ezion-geber] Cp. viii. 17 (note).

37. *Then Eliezer...of Mareshah prophesied*] Cook (*Expos.*, Aug. 1906, p. 191) points out how suitable Mareshah is as the home of a prophet antagonistic to Jehoshaphat. The town was situated in the Shephelah (see xi. 8, note; and also Peters and Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa*); and would be in close touch with the Philistine and Edomite (Arabian) districts, which were "stirred up" to revolt in the time of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's son. Note also the association of Mareshah in the tradition of Zerah's invasion in Asa's reign (xiv. 10). It is unlikely that the Chronicler would have "invented" Mareshah as the home of Eliezer; rather is it reasonable to infer that he is utilising an old tradition, independent of Kings and at least noteworthy for its consistency.

Dodavahu] The LXX. (Lucian), Δουδίου, indicates that the original form of the name was *Dodiah* (דודיה), signifying probably "kinsman of Jehovah"; for euphemistic reasons this was softened to *Dodavahu*. The name therefore is almost certainly characteristic of an early period, and is not such as would naturally occur to the Chronicler's imagination. Here again then we find reason for thinking that the Chronicler was relying on the current form of an old tradition (see G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 62, 232).

CH. XXI. 1 (= 1 Kin. xxii. 50). JEHOSHAPHAT SUCCEEDED BY JEHORAM.

2—4 (no parallel in Kings). THE NAMES AND THE FATE OF THE OTHER SONS OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

2—4. Presumably the Chronicler has drawn the information given in these verses from traditional sources. The details of the names

reigned in his stead. And he had brethren the sons of 2
Jehoshaphat, Azariah, and Jehiel, and Zechariah, and
Azariah, and Michael, and Shephatiah: all these were the
sons of Jehoshaphat king of Israel. And their father gave 3
them great gifts, of silver, and of gold, and of precious
things, with fenced cities in Judah: but the kingdom gave
he to Jehoram, because he was the firstborn. Now when 4
Jehoram was risen up over the kingdom of his father, and
had strengthened himself, he slew all his brethren with the
sword, and divers also of the princes of Israel. Jehoram 5
was thirty and two years old when he began to reign; and
he reigned eight years in Jerusalem. And he walked in the 6
way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab: for
he had the daughter of Ahab to wife: and he did that
which was evil in the sight of the LORD. Howbeit the 7
LORD would not destroy the house of David, because of the
covenant that he had made with David, and as he promised
to give a lamp to him and to his children alway. In his 8

of the brethren, their possessions, and their massacre by Jehoram are not likely to be the product of the Chronicler's unaided imagination.

2. *brethren the sons of Jehoshaphat*] It was necessary to define *brethren*, for the word by itself means no more than "kinsmen"; cp. 1 Chr. xii. 2 (note).

Azariah] Since this name (with a slight variation of spelling) is repeated in the list it is probable that the text is corrupt. Yet the error may be no more than the omission of some epithet which distinguished one Azariah from the other in the original text of the verse. The LXX. gives no help.

king of Israel] Cp. xi. 3, note.

3. *their father gave them*] Rehoboam did the same; xi. 23.

precious things] Heb. *migdānōth*; cp. xxxii. 23.

4. *strengthened himself*] Cp. i. 1 (note).

5—7 (=2 Kin. viii. 17—19). THE EVIL CHARACTER OF JEHORAM'S REIGN.

6. *of Ahab*] Cp. xviii. 1 (note).

7. *the house of David*] In 2 Kin. *Judah*, a term sparingly used in Chron.; cp. xi. 3 (note).

a lamp] Thus figuratively applied the Heb. word is written *nīr*; ordinarily "lamp" is *nēr* in Heb.

days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and
9 made a king over themselves. Then Jehoram passed over
with his captains, and all his chariots with him: and he
rose up by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed
10 him about, and the captains of the chariots. So Edom
revolted from under the hand of Judah, unto this day:
then did Libnah revolt at the same time from under his
hand: because he had forsaken the LORD, the God of his

8—10 (= 2 Kin. viii. 20—22). THE REVOLT OF EDOM.

8. *In his days Edom revolted*] From 1 Chr. xviii. 11—13 (cp. 2 Sam. viii. 13 f.) it appears that Edom was subjugated in the reign of David, and it seems to have remained so until Jehoram's reign. If, as is probable, the *Meunim* are to be reckoned an Edomitic tribe (see the notes on xx. 1, 10), Edom may have made a vain attempt to throw off the Judean suzerainty in Jehoshaphat's time, and this would suit the remark in 1 Kin. xxii. 47 "And there was no king in Edom: a deputy was king"—i.e. a nominee of Jehoshaphat. Moreover the tradition of Jehoshaphat's shipbuilding at Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Akaba implies the maintenance of his hold over Edom.

9. *Then Jehoram passed over*] In Kings "passed over *to Zair*" (the place is not otherwise known; for a suggestion that the Moabite *Zoar* should be read, see *Ency. Brit.* s.v. *Moab*, p. 631 *ad fin.*). Without the addition of a place name the verb "passed over" in Chron. is somewhat awkward. It is possible that the Chronicler used it in the meaning that Jehoram with a vanguard of chariots *passed by* his main body of "the people" to take the lead. Although the text in 1 Kin. viii. 21 appears to have suffered some corruption, it is fairly clear that Jehoram pushed on with his chariots as a vanguard, was hemmed in by the Edomites, and, though he succeeded in cutting his way out by a night attack, his main army had dispersed in the belief that the king and the chariots were cut off and lost.

and the captains of the chariots] The clause is governed by the verb "compassed" (read perhaps *el* for *eth* in the Heb.).

10. *then did Libnah revolt at the same time*] The exact position of Libnah is not known, but it was in the south of Judah, probably not far from Lachish (*Tell el-Hesi*) and the Edomite territory. The active hostility of the Edomitic (Arabian) and Philistine districts about this period afforded an opportunity to any elements of discontent in the townships of southern Judah; see the note on xxvi. 7. Probably the population of Libnah included many Edomite and Philistine families, cp. the Pesh. rendering of this clause, viz. "Then did *the Edomites who dwelt in Libnah* revolt."

because he had forsaken, etc.] Not in Kings; a moralistic comment by the Chronicler.

fathers. Moreover he made high places in the [1]mountains 11
of Judah, and made the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go
a whoring, and [2]led Judah astray. And there came a writing 12
to him from Elijah the prophet, saying, Thus saith the
LORD, the God of David thy father, Because thou hast not
walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat thy father, nor in the
ways of Asa king of Judah; but hast walked in the way of 13
the kings of Israel, and hast made Judah and the inhabitants
of Jerusalem to go a whoring, like as the house of Ahab
[3]did; and also hast slain thy brethren of thy father's house,
which were better than thyself: behold, the LORD will smite 14
with a great [4]plague thy people, and thy children, and thy

[1] According to some ancient authorities, *cities.* [2] Or, *compelled Judah thereto* [3] Heb. *made to go a whoring.* [4] Heb. *stroke.*

11—15 (not in Kings). JEHORAM'S SINS AND ELIJAH'S WRITTEN DENUNCIATION.

11. *in the mountains*] So Pesh., but LXX., *in the cities.* The difference between the two readings in Heb. is very small.

made...to go a whoring] a much used metaphor of Scripture, meaning *led...into idolatry.*

led Judah astray] Lit., *drew* or *thrust away Judah*, i.e. from the presence of Jehovah.

12. *a writing*] This is the only place in which any writing of Elijah is mentioned. Even in Jehoshaphat's reign Elijah seems to have been no longer among the living; cp. 2 Kin. iii. 11 (where Elisha seems already to have taken Elijah's place). That the writing was a prophecy of Elijah denouncing Jehoram in anticipation of his reign is not only utterly improbable, but the plain words of the Chronicler do not seem even to suggest it. It is possible to suppose that some adaptation of words of Elijah to suit Jehoram's case was placarded by an unknown hand outside Jehoram's palace; but again the explanation seems more elaborate than the simple statement warrants. It is more probable therefore that the Chronicler means plainly a letter from Elijah, and ignores the anachronism involved in supposing the prophet to have been alive in Jehoram's reign. So great wickedness seemed to him to require a rebuke from a well-known prophet, and it is put into the mouth of Elijah, who, as the great opponent of the idolatry of Ahab and Jezebel, seemed to be the most proper person to pronounce the denunciation. The style of the letter requires a late date, and the author is perhaps the Chronicler himself. See further the Introd. § 7, p. xlviii.

14. *a great plague*] For "plague" cp. vi. 28, 29. Jehoram's "plague" is described in verses 16, 17.

15 wives, and all thy substance: and thou shalt have great
sickness by disease of thy bowels, until thy bowels fall out
16 by reason of the sickness, [1]day by day. And the LORD
stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and
17 of the Arabians which are beside the Ethiopians: and they
came up against Judah, and brake into it, and carried away

[1] Or, *year after year*

thy substance] Gen. xii. 5; the Heb. word includes both "goods" and "chattels" (i.e. live stock).

15. *day by day*] mg., **year after year**; a prolonged sickness.

16, 17 (no parallel in Kings). THE INVASION OF THE PHILISTINES AND ARABIANS.

The Chronicler's theory of life demanded that disasters should mark the close of this wicked reign, and in view of the licence which marks the Chronicler's reconstruction of the history, it must be allowed that a raid by the very peoples who had paid tribute to Jehoshaphat (xvii. 11) may be only a conjecture to suit the requirements of his religious conviction. But neither the absence of the story from Kings, nor yet the religious appropriateness of the attack entails its rejection as unhistorical. The comparative fulness and vigour of the Chronicler's account of these reigns yields many suggestive indications (some of which have already been noted) favouring the view that he had before him valuable independent traditions of Edomite and Philistine hostilities against Judah which were referred to this period. That being so, the possible historicity of this tradition in vv. 16, 17 must be admitted; and it should be noted that such a raid would be a most natural sequel to Jehoram's loss of control over Edom recorded in ver. 8.

16. *stirred up...the spirit*] Perhaps not without the instigation of a prophetical party, of which Eliezer of Mareshah may have been a leading representative (see xx. 37). For the phrase "stirred up," cp. xxxvi. 22 and 1 Chr. v. 26.

which are beside the Ethiopians] Heb. *Cushites*—probably certain Arabian tribes, though it seems likely that the Chronicler understood the name to mean the Ethiopians of Africa (see the note on *Zerah the Ethiopian*, xiv. 9). Ancient geographical ideas were very inexact. Herodotus regarded all the land east of the Nile as part of Arabia. Distant lands are apt to be conceived of as all more or less "beside" one another. Thus the present writer has heard a Tyrolese peasant woman remark that she supposed "Russia and Japan were both beside England." We may assume that in the Chronicler's source *Arabian* Cushites were meant.

17. *and brake into it*] The proper meaning of the Heb. verb is "to make a breach in a city-wall [and so take the city]"; cp. xxxii. 1. Here and in Is. vii. 6 the word is applied to a whole country.

all the substance that was found [1]in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save [2]Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons. And after 18
all this the LORD smote him in his bowels with an incurable disease. And it came to pass, in process of time, at the 19
end of two years, that his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness, and he died of sore diseases. And his people made no burning for him, like the burning of his fathers. Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign, 20
and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years: and he departed without being desired; and they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

And the inhabitants of Jerusalem made [3]Ahaziah his 22

[1] Or, *belonging to* [2] In ch. xxii. 1, *Ahaziah*.
[3] In ch. xxi. 17, *Jehoahaz*.

in the king's house] It is most unlikely that the invaders (if the raid be historical) actually entered Jerusalem, and almost certain that the Chronicler did not mean to imply that they did. Probably therefore we should translate, as the mg., **belonging to the king's house**. Part of the royal possessions and the royal household might well have been in the camp; see below, the note on xxii. 1.

Jehoahaz] In xxii. 1 he is called *Ahaziah*, which is only another form of the name, the prefix *Jeho-* of the one, and the ending *-iah* of the other being each the representative of the Divine name *Jehovah*. The name in either form means "Jehovah hath taken" (or "grasped"). Parallel instances are the names *Jehoshaphat* and *Shephatiah* (ver. 2) and *Jehonathan* and *Nethaniah* in xvii. 8.

18—20 (cp. 2 Kin. viii. 24). DEATH AND BURIAL OF JEHORAM.

19. *by reason of his sickness*] LXX. μετὰ τῆς νόσου, i.e. in the course of his sickness.

no burning] Cp. xvi. 14 (note).

20. *he departed without being desired*] lit. *without desire*: i.e. he lived so that none desired him, *or* he lived as no one desired. Cp. LXX., ἐπορεύθη οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ, lit. "he walked without praise."

but not in the sepulchres of the kings] According to Kings he "was buried with his fathers." Cp. xxiv. 25, xxviii. 27.

CH. XXII. **1—4** (=2 Kin. viii. 25—27). THE REIGN OF AHAZIAH.

1. *the inhabitants of Jerusalem*, etc.] In consequence of the great disaster to the royal house, the people play a more prominent part than usual in deciding the succession to the throne; cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 30.

youngest son king in his stead: for the band of men that
came with the Arabians to the camp had slain all the eldest.
So Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah reigned.
2 [1]Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to
reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem: and his
3 mother's name was Athaliah the [2]daughter of Omri. He
also walked in the ways of the house of Ahab: for his
4 mother was his counsellor to do wickedly. And he did
that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did the
house of Ahab: for they were his counsellors after the
5 death of his father, to his destruction. He walked also
after their counsel, and went with Jehoram the son of Ahab
king of Israel to war against Hazael king of Syria at
6 Ramoth-gilead: and the Syrians wounded Joram. And
he returned to be healed in Jezreel [3]of the wounds which

[1] In 2 Kings viii. 26, *Two and twenty.* [2] Or, *granddaughter*
[3] So in 2 Kings viii. 29, and in the Sept and Syriac versions. The text has, *because the wounds which &c.*

to the camp] or *to the host.* The sense seems to be that the princes of the royal house were with the army in the field and were slain by a surprise attack of a party from the Philistine and Arabian forces (xxi. 16). The LXX. reads, Ἄραβες οἱ Ἀλειμαζονεῖς, i.e. apparently "the Arabians of Mazin"; but in all probability this reading is a mere error derived from a transliteration of the Heb. word rendered "to the camp" (see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 74).

2. *Forty and two years old*] The LXX. "twenty years old" is preferable, agreeing nearly with 2 Kin. viii. 26, "two and twenty years old" (Heb. and LXX.).

daughter of Omri] So 2 Kin. viii. 26, but more correctly "daughter of Ahab" (*ibid.* ver. 18).

4. *after the death of his father*] This phrase suggests that he acted as regent in his father's lifetime during his father's two years' illness.

5, 6 (=2 Kin. viii. 28, 29). THE ALLIANCE WITH JEHORAM OF ISRAEL.

5. *Joram*] or **Jehoram.** The variation is unimportant.

6. *Jezreel*] A city some distance to the north of Samaria, giving its name to the plain of Jezreel (Esdraelon). Ahab had a house there (1 Kin. xxi. 1), probably a *country* house judging from the incident of Naboth's vineyard. It is the modern *Zer'in*, a town situated on a hill commanding a wide view towards the west and the east, Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 244.

they had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria. And [1]Azariah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was sick. Now the [2]destruction of 7
Ahaziah was of God, in that he went unto Joram: for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of Nimshi, whom the LORD had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab. And it came to pass, when Jehu was 8
executing judgement upon the house of Ahab, that he found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, ministering to Ahaziah, and slew them. And he 9

[1] In ver. 1, *Ahaziah*. [2] Heb. *treading down*.

Ramah] i.e. Ramoth-gilead (see xviii. 2, note).
Azariah] Read, as mg., **Ahaziah**.

7—9 (cp. 2 Kin. ix. 16—26, 27, 28, x. 11—14). THE DEATH OF AHAZIAH.

7—9. These verses give a hasty summary of the passages in Kin. The Chronicler's version differs in some particulars from Kin. The divergences may largely be due to the extreme brevity of Chron., and they do not absolutely require a variant form of the tradition for their explanation (so Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 74), particularly if *Samaria* here in Chron. denotes not the city but simply the province. Ver. 7 is a brief but sufficient abridgment of 2 Kin. ix. 16—26 from the point of view of Ahaziah's concern in the affair. On the other hand there is great probability in the view that the Chronicler's account goes back to a version of the tradition independent of that in Kings; see the notes on vv. 8, 9; and cp. Cook in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for 1908, p. 612.

7. *destruction*] Rather, **ruin**, or **downfall**, LXX., καταστροφή. Ahaziah's brethren fell with him (ver. 8).
had anointed] Cp. 2 Kin. ix. 1—10.

8. *the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah*] LXX. "the brethren (i.e. the kinsmen) of Ahaziah": so also 2 Kin. x. 13. The brethren (in the strict sense of the word) of Ahaziah had already been killed (ver. 1).
ministering] According to 2 Kin. they were going to "salute the children of the king and the children of the queen" (probably a courtly expression for "salute the king and the queen"). Their murder in Kin. is clearly regarded as subsequent to Ahaziah's death, whereas in Chron. the attack on Ahaziah (ver. 9) apparently is placed *after* the murder of the brethren as recorded in the present verse. It is possible, however, to suppose that vv. 8 and 9 are not meant to be related to each other in a time sequence, and that vv. 7, 8, 9 are all relatively independent statements.

sought Ahaziah, and they caught him, (now he was hiding in Samaria,) and they brought him to Jehu, and slew him; and they buried him, for they said, He is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the LORD with all his heart. [1]And the house of Ahaziah had no power to hold the kingdom.

10 Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal of
11 the house of Judah. But [2]Jehoshabeath, the daughter of the king, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him away from among the king's sons that were slain, and put him and his nurse in the [3]bedchamber. So Jehoshabeath, the daughter of king Jehoram, the wife of Jehoiada the

[1] Or, *And there was none of the house of Ahaziah that had power &c.*
[2] In 2 Kings xi. 2, *Jehosheba*. . [3] Or, *chamber for the beds*

9. *now he was hiding in Samaria*] If Samaria means the city, then according to Chron. Ahaziah fled southward from Jezreel; while according to 2 Kin. his flight was westward to Megiddo (to be identified with Khan el-Lejjun, Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 228). Perhaps however Samaria means the *province* (as in xxv. 13; Ezr. iv. 10). Even so this account of Ahaziah's wounding and death differs markedly from that in Kin., where nothing is said of his *hiding*, but simply that he went out with Joram when Jehu encountered Joram (so here ver. 7), was wounded, fled to Megiddo, and died there, but was carried back by his servants to Jerusalem and there buried. Here it is stated that he was captured, brought to Jehu, and slain (?before him). The place of his burial is unnamed, but it would readily be supposed that he was buried by *Jehu's* servants and not at Jerusalem. These divergences in vv. 8, 9 are curious and are most naturally explained as originating in a variant form of the tradition.

10—12 (=2 Kin. xi. 1—3). THE REIGN OF ATHALIAH.

10. *destroyed*] This is the reading of Kings and of the LXX. of Chron. The Heb. reads *spake with*, which is perhaps a euphemism; cp. the English "deal with."

11. *Jehoshabeath*] In Kings "Jehosheba." The two are forms of the same name; cp. "Elisabeth" (Luke i. 7) and "Elisheba" (Ex. vi. 23), a similar pair.

in the bedchamber] mg., **in the chamber for the beds**, i.e. perhaps in a store room in which bed furniture was kept: a convenient but an uncertain interpretation.

the wife of Jehoiada the priest] Cp. xxiii. 1. This relationship is not given in Kings.

priest, (for she was the sister of Ahaziah,) hid him from Athaliah, so that she slew him not. And he was with them 12
hid in the house of God six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

And in the seventh year Jehoiada strengthened himself, 23
and took the captains of hundreds, Azariah the son of Jeroham, and Ishmael the son of Jehohanan, and Azariah the son of Obed, and Maaseiah the son of Adaiah, and

12. *with them*] i.e. with Jehoiada and Jehoshabeath. In Kings "with her."

in the house of God] "The chamber for beds" (which was perhaps in the palace) was only a temporary hiding-place.

CH. XXIII. **1—11** (cp. 2 Kin. xi. 4—12). THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST ATHALIAH.

The account in Kings of the famous conspiracy which resulted in the downfall and death of Athaliah the queen mother and the coronation of the child Joash has the marks of a graphic and accurate narrative. The Chronicler evidently desired to reproduce it word for word, but in one point he was obliged to alter it in accordance with his ideas. In Kings the plot is engineered by the high-priest Jehoiada with the help of the officers ("captains of hundreds") and men of the Carites and the guard, (i.e. the royal body-guard), who were foreign mercenaries. But the statement in 2 Kin. xi. 4, 11, that these men who were both laymen and foreigners were permitted by the high-priest to be within the court of the Temple, though no doubt correct in point of fact (see Ezek. xliv. 6 f.), was inconceivable to the Chronicler. In his account therefore the soldiers of the guard vanish, and the "captains of hundreds" are prominent Levites, who organise the conspiracy by gathering the Levites and chief men throughout Judah (ver. 2); and, further, careful directions are given (ver. 6) that none shall enter the Temple save priests and Levites "for they are holy." The passage is an interesting example of the Chronicler's procedure in the interests of the ecclesiastical order to which he belonged and in which he believed so firmly.

1. *strengthened himself*] Cp. i. 1 (note); the phrase does not occur in the parallel passage of Kings.

Azariah, etc.] The names of course are not in Kings (see previous note). The individual names add to the naturalness of the Chronicler's account. It is unlikely that the Levitical contemporaries of the Chronicler had any reliable traditions enabling them to say who probably were the leading Priests or Levites of Jerusalem in the time of Athaliah and Joash. Perhaps the Chronicler has simply chosen names which were suitable for Levites to bear.

captains of hundreds] In 2 Kin. "captains over hundreds of the Carites (i.e. Cherethites) and of the guard." The Chronicler takes the captains to be captains of *Levites*.

2 Elishaphat the son of Zichri, into covenant with him. And
they went about in Judah, and gathered the Levites out of
all the cities of Judah, and the heads of fathers' *houses*
3 of Israel, and they came to Jerusalem. And all the
congregation made a covenant with the king in the house
of God. And he said unto them, Behold, the king's son
shall reign, as the LORD hath spoken concerning the sons
4 of David. This is the thing that ye shall do: a third part

2. *gathered the Levites*] This statement is not found in Kings—see the head-note.

Israel] See xi. 3 (note).

3. *all the congregation*] Contrast 2 Kin. xi. 4, where the "covenant" is a secret agreement between Jehoiada and the officers of the guard.

hath spoken concerning] Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 16; 1 Chr. xvii. 17.

4. *This is the thing that ye shall do*] The arrangements as given here and in 2 Kin. are not entirely clear owing to our ignorance regarding some of the places referred to. The Chronicler did not clearly understand the scheme in Kin., but he was not troubled thereby. He was concerned only to see that in his account the Levites replaced the soldiers of the guard and that no unlawful person entered the precincts of the Temple. According to Kings, it would appear that it was the custom on the Sabbath for two-thirds of the royal guards to be free and for one-third to be on duty at the palace. In order to avoid arousing suspicion this last third was, according to Jehoiada's directions, to be at the palace as usual, but it was to be subdivided into thirds and so distributed as to close the various means of communication between the palace and the rest of the city. Thus Athaliah was to be held as in a trap by her own guards (2 Kin. xi. 5, 6). The two-thirds who were free from duty on the Sabbath were to be stationed in the Temple about the young king to guard him at his coronation.

The arrangements are differently and no doubt less correctly stated in Chron. In the first place Levitical Temple guards take the place of the royal guards; secondly, the only division of the guards recognised is a simple division into thirds; finally, the stations of the different divisions are differently given, viz., one-third in the Temple, one-third in the palace, and one-third at "the gate of the foundation."

Using the modern terms "battalion" and "company" for the divisions and subdivisions given in Kings, the arrangements may be stated in a form which allows easy comparison between Kings and Chron., as follows:—

(i) 2 Kin. xi. 5—7.

(Royal guards in three battalions.)

1st battalion on duty at the king's house (palace).

A company within the palace (ver. 5),

B ,, at the gate of Sur,

C ,, at another gate ("behind the guard," ver. 6).

of you, that come in on the sabbath, of the priests and of the Levites, shall be porters of the [1]doors; and a third part 5
shall be at the king's house; and a third part at the gate of the foundation: and all the people shall be in the courts of the house of the LORD. But let none come into the 6
house of the LORD, save the priests, and they that minister of the Levites; they shall come in, for they are holy: but

[1] Heb. *thresholds*.

2nd and 3rd battalions off duty, but brought into the house of the Lord (the Temple) by Jehoiada (ver. 7).

(ii) 2 Chron. xxiii. 4, 5.

(Levites in three bands.)

Band I (= 1st battalion C company of 2 Kin.) in the house of God, the Chronicler supposing that "the house" (2 Kin. xi. 6) means the house of the Lord. More probably it means "the house of the king" (*ibid.* ver. 5).

Band II (= 1st battalion A company of 2 Kin.) at the king's house (so 2 Kin.).

Band III (= 1st battalion B company of 2 Kin.) at the gate of "the foundation."

(The Chronicler passes over the 2nd and 3rd battalions, because he has already assigned their duty to 1st battalion C company.)

of the priests and of the Levites] Not in Kings. The words are a mistaken but intentional gloss of the Chronicler, for it is clear that in Kings *lay* guards are meant.

porters of the doors] mg., **of the thresholds**, i.e. of the Temple according to the Chronicler, for the word for "doors" (or "thresholds," *sippim* in Heb.) is always used for the thresholds of some *sanctuary*, e.g. of the Tabernacle (1 Chr. ix. 19, 22), of the Temple of Solomon (2 Chr. iii. 7), of (apparently) some Israelite shrine (Amos ix. 1). In the parallel passage (2 Kin. xi. 6) however "the watch of the house" clearly means "the watch of the king's house" (*ibid.* ver. 5).

5. *a third part shall be at the king's house; and a third part at the gate of the foundation*] These two-thirds according to the scheme given above were both stationed about the palace, but they are *not* to be reckoned as two-thirds of *the whole guard*.

the gate of the foundation] "Gate of *JSVD*" (Heb.). This is certainly the "Gate of Sur" (*SVR* in Heb.) of 2 Kin. xi. 6. Possibly however we should read "Gate of *SVS* (or *SVSIM*)," i.e. "Horse Gate" (ver. 15; cp. 2 Kin. xi. 16) both here and in Kings.

6. *let none come into the house of the LORD*] It is clear on the contrary from Kings (ver. 11) that the royal guards (who were laymen) were brought into the Temple itself under Jehoiada's directions. The Chronicler is evidently at pains to guard against the notion that such a breach of ritual took place.

7 all the people shall keep the watch of the LORD. And the
Levites shall compass the king round about, every man
with his weapons in his hand; and whosoever cometh into
the house, let him be slain: and be ye with the king when
8 he cometh in, and when he goeth out. So the Levites and
all Judah did according to all that Jehoiada the priest
commanded: and they took every man his men, those that
were to come in on the sabbath, with those that were to go
out on the sabbath; for Jehoiada the priest dismissed not
9 the courses. And Jehoiada the priest delivered to the
captains of hundreds the spears, and bucklers, and shields,
that had been king David's, which were in the house of
10 God. And he set all the people, every man with his weapon
in his hand, from the right [1]side of the house to the left side
of the house, along by the altar and the house, by the king
11 round about. Then they brought out the king's son, and
[2]put the crown upon him, and *gave him* the testimony, and

[1] Heb. *shoulder*. [2] Or, *put upon him the crown and the testimony*

all the people] Not mentioned in Kings; but cp. 2 Kin. xi. 14.

7. *into the house*] 2 Kin. "within the ranks." Any one who should attempt to break through the ranks of the guard to get near to the king was to be killed. According to the Chronicler Jehoiada's precaution would protect the sanctity of the Temple as well as the person of the young king.

8. *the Levites and all Judah*] In 2 Kin. "the captains over hundreds." See notes on ver. 4.

for Jehoiada the priest dismissed not the courses] Not in Kings. The Levites (1 Chr. xxiii. 6), the priests (*ibid.* xxiv. 1), and the king's army (*ibid.* xxvii. 1 ff.) were each divided into "courses," but it is clear from the context that courses of Levites are meant here.

9. *shields*] Heb. *shĕlāṭīm*; see note on 1 Chr. xviii. 7.

10. *with his weapon*] The Heb. word (*shelaḥ*) means a "missile weapon."

11. *put the crown upon him, and* gave him *the testimony*] So LXX. and Heb. both here and in 2 Kin. xi. 12. Note that the words "gave him" are not in the Heb. What then is the meaning of "put the crown ...the testimony"? It is supposed that by "the testimony" some document inscribed with laws, a charter binding king and people to live according to its precepts, is meant, and that this document was placed in the hands or on the head of Joash along with the crown. The wearing of an inscription or of a document on a solemn occasion, though strange to Western thought, is not alien from Eastern methods; cp. Ex. xxviii.

made him king: and Jehoiada and his sons anointed him;
and they said, [1]God save the king. And when Athaliah 12
heard the noise [2]of the people running and praising the
king, she came to the people into the house of the LORD:
and she looked, and, behold, the king stood by his pillar at 13
the entrance, and the captains and the trumpets by the
king; and all the people of the land rejoiced, and blew
with trumpets; the singers also *played* on instruments of
music, and led the singing of praise. Then Athaliah rent
her clothes, and said, Treason, treason. And Jehoiada the 14
priest brought out the captains of hundreds that were set

[1] Heb. *Let the king live.*
[2] Or, *of the people, of the guard, and of those who praised the king*

36 ff.; Deut. vi. 6—8; Job xxxi. 35, 36; but evidence of such a ceremony at the coronation of a monarch is lacking. Hence it is tempting to think that we should read as the true text of Kin. "put upon him the crown **and the bracelets**"—a brilliant conjecture made by Wellhausen, which involves in Heb. only the addition of one consonant to the present text, but again there is no satisfactory evidence that bracelets were put on the king at his coronation: Wellhausen relied on 2 Sam. i. 10. Further, it is very probable that the error (if it is one) was present in the text of Kin. which lay before the Chronicler, and therefore in Chron. "the testimony" may be the original reading.

Jehoiada and his sons] In Kings, "they anointed him" (without specifying the actors).

God save the king] Lit., *Let the king live!*

12—15 (= 2 Kin. xi. 13—16). DEATH OF ATHALIAH.

12. *running*] The word might mean "the guard" (*lit.* runners)—see the mg. It has that meaning in Kin., but the Chronicler interprets it literally as the participle of the verb.

praising the king] Perhaps verses were extemporised in praise of a king at his coronation, just as over a maiden at her marriage; cp. Ps. lxxviii. 63.

she came] Athaliah was allowed to pass the palace guard, but now it was too late for her to save her crown.

13. *by his pillar*] cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 3 (= 2 Chr. xxxiv. 31, "in his place"). Although "pillar" is attested by 2 Kin. xxiii. 3, the phrase is curious. Perhaps we should here read "in his place," as in xxxiv. 31: the difference in Heb. is very slight.

at the entrance] In 2 Kin. *as the manner was.*

14. *brought out*] Read (as 2 Kin.) **commanded.**

over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth between the ranks; and whoso followeth her, let him be slain with the sword: for the priest said, Slay her not in the house of
15 the LORD. So they made way for her; and she went to the entry of the horse gate to the king's house: and they slew her there.
16 And Jehoiada made a covenant between himself, and all
17 the people, and the king, that they should be the LORD'S people. And all the people went to the house of Baal, and brake it down, and brake his altars and his images in pieces,
18 and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars. And Jehoiada appointed the offices of the house of the LORD under the hand of the priests the Levites, whom David had

between the ranks] i.e. she was to be taken out between two lines of guards.

15. *the horse gate*] Cp. the note on the "gate of the foundation" (ver. 5).

16—21 (= 2 Kin. xi. 17—20). THE SECRET OF THE FALL OF ATHALIAH.

16. *between himself, and all the people, and the king*] Jehoiada puts himself first as regent. In 2 Kin. "between the LORD and the king and the people."

that they should be the LORD'S people] Cp. xxix. 10, xxxiv. 31; Ex. xxiv. 1—11; Deut. xxvi. 17, 18; Neh. ix. 36—38.

17. *the house of Baal*] When this was erected is not known, perhaps under Jehoram (xxi. 6) or Ahaziah (xxii. 3), but it was doubtless intended for the worship of the Tyrian Baal, for Athaliah was probably grand-daughter of a Tyrian king (cp. 2 Kin. viii. 18 with 1 Kin. xvi. 31). It is interesting to see that the revolt against Athaliah in Jerusalem, like the revolution led by Jehu against her parents, Ahab and Jezebel, in the Northern Kingdom, was fostered, if not indeed caused, by religious antipathy. At least these passages are of high value in showing the hold which the worship of Jehovah had already obtained upon the loyalty of Israel. Court influences, always powerful in such small states, when cast against the worship of Jehovah, were unable for long to maintain the struggle against the national "jealousy" for Him.

18. *And Jehoiada appointed*, etc.] This whole ver. is represented in Kings simply by the words, "And the priest appointed officers ('offices,' mg.) over the house of the LORD" (i.e. officers for the care of the Temple, e.g. to see to cleaning and repairing it).

the priests the Levites] Read probably **the priests and the Levites**, and see the note on the same phrase in xxx. 27.

distributed in the house of the LORD, to offer the burnt offerings of the LORD, as it is written in the law of Moses, with rejoicing and with singing, [1]according to the order of David. And he set the porters at the gates of the house 19 of the LORD, that none which was unclean in any thing should enter in. And he took the captains of hundreds, 20 and the nobles, and the governors of the people, and all the people of the land, and brought down the king from the house of the LORD: and they came through the upper gate unto the king's house, and set the king upon the throne of the kingdom. So all the people of the land rejoiced, and 21 the city was quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword.

Joash was seven years old when he began to reign; and 24 he reigned forty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And Joash did that which was 2 right in the eyes of the LORD all the days of Jehoiada the priest. And Jehoiada took for him two wives; and he 3

[1] Heb. *by the hands of David.*

according to the order of David] Note that the Chronicler ascribes all sacrificial arrangements to the law of Moses, but all musical arrangements to David, cp. 1 Chr. xxv.

19. *he set the porters*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxvi. 1 ff., 13 ff. Jehoiada is regarded as re-establishing a Davidic arrangement which had fallen into disuse.

20. *the nobles*] Heb. *addīrīm*; cp. Neh. iii. 5 (with Ryle's note). In 2 Kin., "the Carites"; cp. ver. 1 (note).

the upper gate] cp. xxvii. 3, "the upper gate of the house of the LORD." In 2 Kin., "by the way of the gate of the guard" (doubtless one of the gates of the *palace*). The Chronicler, writing at a time when the palace had ceased to exist, naturally fixes localities by reference to the Temple. The gate in question was probably one in the north wall of the Temple court, referred to in Jer. xx. 2 as "the upper gate of Benjamin."

CH. XXIV. **1—3** (cp. 2 Kin. xi. 21—xii. 3). JOASH BEGINS TO REIGN.

2. After this verse Kings adds "Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places." This the Chronicler omits, for it was quite irreconcilable with his notion of the religious reformation which marks the opening years of the reign of Joash.

3. *And Jehoiada*, etc.] This ver. is not in Kings. It was the duty

4 begat sons and daughters. And it came to pass after this,
that Joash was minded to restore the house of the LORD.
5 And he gathered together the priests and the Levites, and
said to them, Go out unto the cities of Judah, and gather
of all Israel money to repair the house of your God from
year to year, and see that ye hasten the matter. Howbeit
6 the Levites hastened it not. And the king called for
Jehoiada the chief, and said unto him, Why hast thou not
required of the Levites to bring in out of Judah and out of
Jerusalem the tax of Moses the servant of the LORD, and
of the congregation [1]of Israel, for the tent of the testimony?

[1] Or, *for Israel*

of a Jewish father to provide his son with a wife; Jehoiada standing *in loco parentis* does this for Joash.

4—14 (=2 Kin. xii. 4—16). THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE.

5. *and the Levites*] Not in Kings; cp. xxiii. 2 (note).

Go out unto the cities of Judah] According to Kings, the restoration fund was to consist of a poll-tax (paid at the Temple at the Great Feasts, Ex. xxiii. 14—17) and of free-will offerings paid in money, and nothing is said there about collecting money *outside* Jerusalem.

hastened it not] In Kings, "in the three and twentieth year of king Jehoash the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house." Such protracted neglect of the repairs of the Temple appears the more reprehensible (in Kings) since the money was paid at the Temple, and therefore was actually in the hands of the priests. At the same time, to the Chronicler, the royal command to use money from the poll-tax and free-will offerings for the purpose of repairs was an infringement of the priests' prerogatives. He therefore relieves the situation, partly by representing that the money was to be obtained by a special collection throughout the land, and also by softening the twenty-three years of inaction into "hastened it not."

6. *of the Levites*] See note on ver. 5.

the tax of Moses] i.e. the half-shekel due from each male for support of the sanctuary, according to Ex. xxx. 14—16, xxxviii. 25, 26.

the tent of the testimony] "The testimony" refers to the Ten Commandments, which contained the substance of God's testimony (protestation) to Israel. To illustrate the use of the phrase, note that the two tables of stone were called "tables of the testimony" (Ex. xxxi. 18, R.V.); the ark which contained them was called the "ark of the testimony" (Ex. xxv. 22); the veil which hung before the ark was the "veil of the testimony" (Lev. xxiv. 3); the tent which contained the ark was either the "tabernacle (Heb. *mishkān*) of the testimony" (Ex. xxxviii. 21, R.V.) or the "tent (Heb. *ōhel*) of the testimony" (Num. ix. 15). The

For the sons of Athaliah, that wicked woman, had broken 7
up the house of God; and also all the dedicated things of
the house of the LORD did they bestow upon the Baalim.
So the king commanded, and they made a chest, and set it 8
without at the gate of the house of the LORD. And they 9
made a proclamation through Judah and Jerusalem, to
bring in for the LORD the tax that Moses the servant of
God laid upon Israel in the wilderness. And all the princes 10
and all the people rejoiced, and brought in, and cast into
the chest, until they had made an end. And it was so, 11
that at what time the chest was brought unto the king's
[1]office [2]by the hand of the Levites, and when they saw that
there was much money, the king's [3]scribe and the chief
priest's officer came and emptied the chest, and took it,
and carried it to its place again. Thus they did day by
day, and gathered money in abundance. And the king and 12
Jehoiada gave it to such as did the work of the service
of the house of the LORD; and they hired masons and
carpenters to restore the house of the LORD, and also such

[1] Or, *officers* [2] Or, which was *under the hand* [3] Or, *secretary*

tabernacle, with all its contents, was to be a standing protest to Israel that Jehovah was with His people according to covenant, and that every breach of the covenant would call forth punishment. Cp. Deut. iv. 25, 26, viii. 19, etc.

7. *the sons of Athaliah*] To be understood figuratively, "the adherents of Athaliah." So "a son of the apothecaries" (Neh. iii. 8; cp. A.V. with R.V.) is "a member of the apothecaries' guild" and "the sons of the prophets" (2 Kin. ii. 15, etc.) are "the adherents (or 'scholars') of the prophets."

had broken up] Rather, **had broken into.**

all the dedicated things] Cp. xv. 18; 1 Chr. xviii. 10, 11. Probably gold, silver and brass.

did they bestow upon the Baalim] Or, *did they make into images of Baal.* Cp. Hos. ii. 8, R.V. mg.

9. Kings has nothing corresponding to this ver.; cp. ver. 5 (note).

11. *at what time...by the hand of the Levites*] This clause is not in Kings.

the chief priest's officer] According to Kings the high-priest was present *himself.* It would seem as if the Chronicler was concerned for the dignity of the high-priest, and desired to equate it with that of the king; if the latter was to be represented only by an officer, the former must be also.

as wrought iron and brass to repair the house of the LORD.
13 So the workmen wrought, and [1]the work was perfected by
them, and they set up the house of God [2]in its state, and
14 strengthened it. And when they had made an end, they
brought the rest of the money before the king and Jehoiada,
whereof were made vessels for the house of the LORD, even
vessels to minister, and [3]to offer withal, and spoons, and
vessels of gold and silver. And they offered burnt offerings
in the house of the LORD continually all the days of
15 Jehoiada. But Jehoiada waxed old and was full of days,
and he died; an hundred and thirty years old was he when
16 he died. And they buried him in the city of David among
the kings, because he had done good in Israel, and toward
17 God and his house. Now after the death of Jehoiada came
the princes of Judah, and made obeisance to the king.
18 Then the king hearkened unto them. And they forsook
the house of the LORD, the God of their fathers, and served

[1] Heb. *healing went up upon the work.* [2] Or, *according to the proportion thereof* [3] Or, *pestles*

13. *in its state*] i.e. according to its former state.

14. *the rest of the money...whereof were made vessels for the house of the LORD*] This verse conflicts with 2 Kin. xii. 13, 14, which states that the money gathered was not spent on gold and silver vessels for the Temple but was given to the workmen who repaired the house. The lack of such utensils and the paucity of money implied in Kin. was evidently not credited by the Chronicler.

continually] Perhaps primarily in allusion to the morning and evening daily sacrifice (Num. xxviii. 3—6), but having also a wider reference to the whole round of sacrifices.

15—19 (no parallel in 2 Kin.). THE APOSTASY OF JOASH.

15. *an hundred and thirty years*] The age ascribed to Jacob in Gen. xlvii. 9. Its incongruity here is well pointed out by Curtis who notes that, were the figure correct, Jehoiada's wife must have been about 25 years old and he about 100 at the time of Athaliah's assassination. The ascription of so great length of life and the honours of his burial (ver. 16) are suitable to the respect which the Chronicler felt Jehoiada to have merited.

16. *among the kings*] Cp. ver. 25 and xxi. 20.

17. *made obeisance*] Obeisance foreshadowed a request; cp. 1 Kin. i. 16.

18. *they forsook the house of the LORD*] Cp. xxix. 6, "[they] have turned

the Asherim and the idols: and wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem for this their guiltiness. Yet he sent prophets 19
to them, to bring them again unto the LORD; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear. And 20
the spirit of God [1]came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest; and he stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of the LORD, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the LORD, he hath also forsaken you. And 21
they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the commandment of the king in the court of the house

[1] Heb. *clothed itself with.*

away their faces from the habitation of the LORD." These phrases are a euphemism meaning "to commit apostasy."

the Asherim and the idols] Cp. xiv. 3 (note).

wrath] Heb. *qeçeph*; cp. xix. 2 (note). The calamities in question are narrated in vv. 23 ff.

19. *he sent prophets*] Cp. xxxvi. 15.

to them] Rather, **among them.**

20—22 (no parallel in 2 Kin.). THE MARTYRDOM OF ZECHARIAH SON OF JEHOIADA.

This martyrdom is referred to by our Lord in Luke xi. 51, "from the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias who perished between the altar and the house," i.e. "the temple" (cp. Matt. xxiii. 35). As Chronicles is the last book in the Jewish Canon, "From Abel to Zachariah" practically includes the whole Old Testament. In the text of Matt. Zacharias is called "son of Barachiah" either by a confusion with Zechariah the prophet contemporary with Haggai, or, possibly, owing to confusion with a certain Zechariah, son of Berachiah, mentioned in Josephus (*B. J.* IV. v. 4) as having been murdered in the Temple by the Zealots, *circa* 67, 68 A.D. (see e.g. Weiss, *Schriften des N.T.*, pp. 376, 377).

20. *came upon*] Heb. "clothed itself with"; cp. Judg. vi. 34; 1 Chr. xii. 18.

stood above the people] Cp. Jer. xxxvi. 10 (Baruch reads Jeremiah's words from the window of an upper chamber to the people assembled in the court below); Neh. viii. 4 (Ezra reads the Law from a pulpit of wood).

21. *in the court*] An aggravation of the murder; cp. xxiii. 14. The altar of burnt-offering stood in the court (cp. viii. 12) and the execution (Luke xi. 51) took place between this altar and the Temple itself.

22 of the LORD. Thus Joash the king remembered not the
kindness which Jehoiada his father had done to him, but
slew his son. And when he died, he said, The LORD look
23 upon it, and require it. And it came to pass at the [1]end
of the year, that the army of the Syrians came up against
him: and they came to Judah and Jerusalem, and destroyed
all the princes of the people from among the people, and
24 sent all the spoil of them unto the king of Damascus. For
the army of the Syrians came with a small company of
men; and the LORD delivered a very great host into their
hand, because they had forsaken the LORD, the God of
their fathers. So they executed [2]judgement upon Joash.
25 And when they were departed from him, (for they left him
in great diseases,) his own servants conspired against him
for the blood of the [3]sons of Jehoiada the priest, and slew

[1] Heb. *revolution.* [2] Heb. *judgements.*
[3] The Sept. and Vulgate read, *son.*

22. *The LORD look upon it, and require it*] Cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 45, 46. and contrast Acts vii. 60.

23, 24 (cp. 2 Kin. xii. 17, 18). THE SYRIAN INVASION.

In 2 Kin. the invasion is not represented as a judgement on Joash, for no sin is mentioned for which this could be the punishment.

As regards the campaign itself 2 Kin. says that the Syrians were bought off with a heavy bribe from attacking Jerusalem; nothing is said of the amount of damage done during the invasion. The Chronicler on the contrary says nothing of the cause of the withdrawal of the Syrians, but simply says that a small force of them inflicted great loss and took much spoil.

23. *at the end of the year*] Rather, **in the course of a year**, i.e. when the same time of the year had come round again.

the princes] Who had been leaders in the apostasy (ver. 17).

from among the people] The reading of the Heb. is doubtful; the words should perhaps be expunged.

24. *because they had forsaken the LORD*] Mark the Chronicler's insistent enforcement of a religious meaning in history.

25—27 (cp. 2 Kin. xii. 19—21). THE END OF JOASH.

25. *for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada*] No reason is alleged for the conspiracy in Kings.

sons] LXX. and Vulg. "son"; cp. ver. 20.

him on his bed, and he died: and they buried him in the city of David, but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the kings. And these are they that conspired against him; 26
[1]Zabad the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and Jehozabad the son of [2]Shimrith the Moabitess. Now concerning his 27
sons, and the greatness of the burdens [3]*laid* upon him, and the [4]rebuilding of the house of God, behold, they are written in the commentary of the book of the kings. And Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

Amaziah was twenty and five years old when he began 25
to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem.
And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, 2
but not with a perfect heart. Now it came to pass, when 3
the kingdom was established unto him, that he slew his

[1] In 2 Kings xii. 12, *Jozacar.* [2] In 2 Kings xii. 21, *Shomer.*
[3] Or, uttered *against* [4] Heb. *founding.*

on his bed] In Kings it is simply "smote Joash at the house of Millo, on the way that goeth down to Silla."

26. *Zabad*] In 2 Kin. "Jozacar." The difference between the names is not great in Heb.

Shimeath the Ammonitess...Shimrith the Moabitess] In 2 Kin. simply *Shimeath* and *Shomer* (no mention of their nationality being added). In Kings the names are masculines, Shimeath and Shomer being the fathers of the murderers. The Chronicler makes them out to be the mothers, by altering *Shomer* to Shimrith (*Shimeath* already has a feminine termination); and by calling them respectively women of Ammon and Moab he casts increased obloquy upon the apostate Joash, the victim (so we are to surmise) of half-breed men whom presumably his foreign idolatries had encouraged to dwell in Jerusalem. At the same time the evil of foreign marriages is emphasised by the story.

27. *the burdens* laid *upon him*] Render (with mg.), **the burdens** (i.e. the prophetic rebukes) **uttered against him.** Cp. ver. 19. The Heb. text of the first half of the verse is uncertain.

the commentary] Heb. *midrash.* Cp. Introduction, § 5.

CH. XXV. **1—4** (=2 Kin. xiv. 1—6). AMAZIAH SUCCEEDS.

2. *not with a perfect heart*] In Kings, "yet not like David his father" (because "the high places were not taken away"). The Chronicler has something more serious in his mind; cp. vv. 14—16.

3. *unto him*] LXX., ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ "in his hand," as in Kings.

4 servants which had killed the king his father. But he put not their children to death, but did according to that which is written in the law in the book of Moses, as the LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not die for the children, neither shall the children die for the fathers: but every man
5 shall die for his own sin. Moreover Amaziah gathered Judah together, and ordered them according to their fathers' houses, under captains of thousands and captains of hundreds, even all Judah and Benjamin: and he numbered them from twenty years old and upward, and found them three hundred thousand chosen men, able to go forth to
6 war, that could handle spear and shield. He hired also an hundred thousand mighty men of valour out of Israel for
7 an hundred talents of silver. But there came a man of God to him, saying, O king, let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the LORD is not with Israel, *to wit*, with all
8 the children of Ephraim. But [1]if thou wilt go, do *valiantly*, be strong for the battle: God shall cast thee down before

[1] Or, *go thou*

4. *he put not their children to death*] Contrast Jos. vii. 24 ff.; 2 Kin. ix. 26. Clearly the sparing of the children is here mentioned as being a practice unknown or still very unusual at the time.

according to that which is written] i.e. in Deut. xxiv. 16 (cp. Ezek. xviii. 20).

5—10 (not in Kings). AMAZIAH PREPARES FOR WAR.

5. *three hundred thousand*] Cp. the much larger numbers recorded for Asa (xiv. 8) and Jehoshaphat (xvii. 14 ff.).

6. *He hired also...out of Israel*] The sequel to the hiring of these mercenaries is given in vv. 10 and 13. The episode, which is entirely unknown apart from the present passage, is most interesting. It agrees most admirably with the Chronicler's way of thinking; for the sin of seeking Israelite help is punished through the damage inflicted by the disappointed soldiers after their dismissal, whilst the virtue of dismissing them in obedience to the prophet's command is rewarded by the victory gained by Amaziah over Edom. The story seems too subtle to be *wholly* an invention, and several scholars consider it probable that the hiring of the Israelites and their subsequent plundering has a basis in some old tradition.

7. *the LORD is not with Israel*] Cp. xiii. 8—12.

all the children of Ephraim] the phrase is added to show that *here* the writer has used "Israel" in the sense of the Northern Kingdom.

8. *God shall cast thee down*] i.e. If despite the warning he persists

the enemy; for God hath power to help, and to cast down.
And Amaziah said to the man of God, But what shall we 9
do for the hundred talents which I have given to the [1]army
of Israel? And the man of God answered, The LORD is
able to give thee much more than this. Then Amaziah 10
separated them, *to wit*, the [1]army that was come to him out
of Ephraim, to go home again: wherefore their anger was
greatly kindled against Judah, and they returned home in
fierce anger. And Amaziah took courage, and led forth his 11
people, and went to the Valley of Salt, and smote of the
children of Seir ten thousand. And *other* ten thousand did 12
the children of Judah carry away alive, and brought them
unto the top of [2]the rock, and cast them down from the top
of [2]the rock, that they all were broken in pieces. But 13
[3]the men of the army which Amaziah sent back, that they
should not go with him to battle, fell upon the cities of

[1] Heb. *troop.* [2] Or, *Sela* [3] Heb. *the sons of the troop.*

in his purpose, God will cause his effort to fail, no matter how well he fights.

9. *The LORD is able to give thee much more than this*] An utterance worthy to be placed in the mouth of a prophet.

11, 12 (cp. 2 Kin. xiv. 7). VICTORY OVER EDOM.

11. *the Valley of Salt*] The scene of one of David's victories (1 Chr. xviii. 12; see note there).

children of Seir] The Edomites were so called because "Mount Seir" was part of their territory; Deut. ii. 5, and see note on xx. 10. Originally subdued in David's reign, they had revolted in the time of Jehoram (see xxi. 10).

12. other *ten thousand...carry away alive*] Neither this capture nor the subsequent massacre is mentioned in Kin. The huge scale of the victory may be only a product of the Chronicler's free imagination. On the other hand, if any real information were available outside the canonical books this is the sort of tradition we might expect to survive, full allowance of course being made for great exaggeration in the numbers given. Further, it accords with the sequence of events given in Chron., see note on xxvi. 7.

13 (no parallel in Kings). OUTRAGES OF THE EPHRAIMITE MERCENARIES.

13. *the cities of Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon*] We

Judah, from Samaria even unto Beth-horon, and smote of them three thousand, and took much spoil.

14 Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought the gods of the children of Seir, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto
15 them. Wherefore the anger of the LORD was kindled against Amaziah, and he sent unto him a prophet, which said unto him, Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which have not delivered their own people out of
16 thine hand? And it came to pass, as he talked with him, that *the king* said unto him, Have we made thee of the king's counsel? forbear; why shouldest thou be smitten? Then the prophet forbare, and said, I know that God hath determined to destroy thee, because thou hast done this, and hast not hearkened unto my counsel.

might have expected the two names given to be names of cities belonging to the Southern Kingdom. But Samaria is given apparently as the base from which the marauders started.

14—16 (not in Kings). AMAZIAH'S IDOLATRY AND THE PROPHET'S REBUKE.

14—16. The great disaster which befell Amaziah at the hands of Joash king of Israel and which is about to be narrated in vv. 17—24 seemed to require some heinous transgression for its cause. This the Chronicler supplies in the assertion that, after the defeat of Edom, Amaziah actually brought back Edomite images and set them up in Jerusalem for worship (vv. 14—16): a truly horrible result of a victory which had resulted from obedience to Jehovah's word by His prophet!

14. *bowed down...and burned incense*] The tenses in the Heb. are imperfects and imply that this became Amaziah's practice. The act was according to a policy frequently pursued in ancient times. Solomon affords an instance of it (1 Kin. xi. 7).

15. *which have not delivered*] Such deliverance being in popular thought the proof of a deity's power; cp. Is. xxxvi. 18 ff., xxxvii. 18 ff.

16. *of the king's counsel*] Lit., "counsellor to the king."

hath determined] Lit., "hath counselled" (with a play on the king's word).

17—24 (= 2 Kin. xiv. 8—14). AMAZIAH CONQUERED BY JOASH.

The overwhelming defeat of Amaziah by Joash of Israel, involving the destruction of part of the defences of Jerusalem and the plundering of the Temple, must have been an affair of the highest importance in

Then Amaziah king of Judah took advice, and sent to 17
Joash, the son of Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, king of Israel,
saying, Come, let us look one another in the face. And 18
Joash king of Israel sent to Amaziah, king of Judah, saying,
The [1]thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was
in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife:
and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and
trode down the thistle. Thou sayest, Lo, thou hast smitten 19
Edom; and thine heart lifteth thee up to boast: abide now
at home; why shouldest thou [2]meddle to *thy* hurt, that
thou shouldest fall, even thou, and Judah with thee? But 20
Amaziah would not hear; for it was of God, that he might
deliver them into the hand *of their enemies*, because they
had sought after the gods of Edom. So Joash king of 21
Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked
one another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth

[1] Or, *thorn* [2] Or, *provoke calamity*

Judean history. The relative weakness of Judah compared with Israel is still less apparent in Chron. than in Kings. For a discussion of the evidence see Cook in *Ency. Brit.*, s.v. *Jews*, p. 379.

17. *took advice*] **Took counsel**, presumably (according to the Chronicler's narrative) with a view to demanding satisfaction from Joash for the ravages of the Israelite mercenaries (ver. 13). The sequel suggests that Joash refused to give satisfaction.

let us look one another in the face] The proposal may be either to fight or (better) to discuss Amaziah's claims, the two kings meeting as equals. The latter is probably the right alternative, for the answer of Joash draws a scoffing parallel between Amaziah's proposition and a thorn's proposal of alliance with a cedar. Had Amaziah's words been a *challenge to fight*, Joash's answer might rather have taken the form of the parable in Judg. ix. 15, "The thorn said, Fire shall come out of the thorn and devour the cedars of Lebanon," etc.

18. *the thistle*] mg., **thorn**; cp. Prov. xxvi. 9 (same Heb. word).

19. *Thou sayest*] i.e. to thyself.

meddle to thy *hurt*] mg., **provoke calamity**, i.e. by making claims which he could not enforce.

20. *for it was of God*] Not in Kings. This turn is characteristic of the Chronicler; cp. x. 15, xxii. 7.

21. *he and Amaziah...looked one another in the face*] The historian by a kind of irony takes up Amaziah's phrase (ver. 17) and gives it a fresh application. Cp. the double application (by a similar irony) of the phrase, "lift up the head" in Gen. xl. 13, 19.

at Beth-shemesh] Cp. 1 Chr. vi. 59 [44, Heb.] (note).

22 to Judah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel;
23 and they fled every man to his tent. And Joash king of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Joash the son of Jehoahaz, at Beth-shemesh, and brought him to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto [1]the corner gate, four hundred cubits.
24 And *he took* all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of God with Obed-edom, and the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.
25 And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel fifteen
26 years. Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, first and last, behold, are they not written in the book of the kings of
27 Judah and Israel? Now from the time that Amaziah did

[1] So in 2 Kings xiv. 13. The text has, *the gate that looketh.*

22. *to his tent*] Cp. vii. 10 (note).

23. *the son of Jehoahaz*] i.e. the son of *Ahaziah*, Jehoahaz and Ahaziah being varying forms of the same name; cp. xxi. 17 (note).

brake down the wall] Rather, **made a breach** (or **breaches**) **in the wall**. The same verb is used in Neh. i. 3 ("broken down") and *ibid.* iv. 7 ("the breaches").

the gate of Ephraim] Its precise position is not known, but it was no doubt in the north or north-west wall of the city, on the road to Ephraim. Cp. Neh. viii. 16.

the corner gate] Heb. text doubtful, but LXX. ἕως πύλης γωνίας. Cp. xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38; Zech. xiv. 10. Most probably this gate also was near the north-west angle of the walls, but nothing certain is known of its position.

four hundred cubits] About 600 feet according to the ancient cubit, and 700 according to the later standard: cp. iii. 3 (note).

24. *And* he took] The verb is missing in Chron., and is supplied from Kings.

with Obed-edom] i.e. with *the family of* Obed-edom which (1 Chr. xxvi. 4—8, 15) served as doorkeepers in the House of God. The words are an addition of the Chronicler.

25—28 (= 2 Kin. xiv. 17—20). THE END OF AMAZIAH.

27. *from the time*] The Chronicler characteristically connects the conspiracy with Amaziah's apostasy; in Kings the only fact of the conspiracy is stated.

turn away from following the LORD they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him there. And they 28
brought him upon horses, and buried him with his fathers in [1]the city of Judah.

And all the people of Judah took [2]Uzziah, who was sixteen 26
years old, and made him king in the room of his father Amaziah. He built Eloth, and restored it to Judah, after 2
that the king slept with his fathers. Sixteen years old 3

[1] In 2 Kings xiv. 20, *the city of David.*
[2] In 2 Kings xiv. 21, *Azariah.*

a conspiracy] Athaliah, Joash, Amaziah each fell one after the other before a conspiracy. Jehoiada's example had far-reaching results.

to Lachish] Perhaps he was trying to reach Egypt.

28. *upon horses*] Render, **upon the horses**; i.e. upon the horses of some of his pursuers.

the city of Judah] Read, with the mg., the Versions and 2 Kin., **the city of David.**

CH. XXVI. **1—4** (=2 Kin. xiv. 21, 22, xv. 2, 3). UZZIAH'S REIGN.

1. *all the people of Judah*] Popular choice does not seem to have determined the succession to the throne, except when the reigning king had perished by a violent or untimely death, cp. xxii. 1.

Uzziah] Called "Azariah" in 1 Chr. iii. 12 and in 2 Kin. (eight times), but "Uzziah" in 2 Kin. xv. 13, 32, 34; Is. i. 1, vi. 1; Hos. i. 1; Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5. The two forms of the name when written in Heb. consonants closely resemble each other; moreover the meanings of the two are similar, "Jah is my strength" and "Jah hath given help." Perhaps the king bore both names; cp. "Abram" and "Abraham"—"Eliakim" and "Jehoiakim" (xxxvi. 4).

2. *Eloth*] So spelt in viii. 17 (=1 Kin. ix. 26), but "Elath" in Deut. ii. 8; 2 Kin. xiv. 22. In 2 Kin. xvi. 6 the two forms are found side by side in one verse.

after that the king, etc.] The meaning seems to be it was after king *Amaziah* slept with his fathers that *Uzziah* his son restored Elath to Judah; and it is a natural inference that Uzziah was ruling in Jerusalem for some while before the death of Amaziah at Lachish left him sole and undisputed king. A considerable time may have elapsed between Amaziah's flight and his capture as related in xxv. 27. Yet this is not very likely, and from the position of the present verse in Kings it would seem as though the statement in its original context should be interpreted thus: "he, *Amaziah*, built Eloth," etc.; and the king referred to in the clause "after that the king slept with his fathers" is probably Jeroboam king of Israel (so Barnes on 2 Kin. xiv. 22).

was Uzziah when he began to reign; and he reigned fifty
and two years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was
4 Jechiliah of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right
in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that his father
5 Amaziah had done. And he set himself to seek God in the
days of Zechariah, who [1]had understanding in [2]the vision
of God: and as long as he sought the LORD, God made him
6 to prosper. And he went forth and warred against the
Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall
of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod; and he built cities

[1] Or, *gave instruction*
[2] Heb. *the seeing.* Many ancient authorities have, *the fear.*

3. *Jechiliah*] so the *Kethîb*; the *Kerî* **Jecoliah** agrees with the parallel passage of Kings.

4. *his father Amaziah*] This verse suits its original context in Kings, for Kings records nothing against Amaziah; it is out of place in Chron., for according to xxv. 14 Amaziah was an idolater.

5—10 (not in Kings). THE PROSPERITY OF UZZIAH.

5—10. It is probable that the Chronicler had old and genuine tradition to rely on for the account which he here gives of Uzziah's prosperity—his wars against neighbouring tribes (vv. 6—8), and his building activity (vv. 8—10). Doubtless in the earlier years of Uzziah's reign Judah was still suffering from the effects of the defeat inflicted by Joash of Israel. But the general accuracy of the picture of the reign is assured by such facts as (1) the stout resistance offered by Jerusalem to the Assyrians in Hezekiah's time as contrasted with its capture by the Israelites in Amaziah's reign (xxv. 23); (2) the frequency of metaphors from building implements and materials in the pages of the prophets of this period (e.g. Amos vii. 7 ff.): (3) the commercial activity and luxury of Jerusalem in the reign of Uzziah's successor Ahaz—witness the writings of Isaiah, *passim.*

5. *Zechariah*] Nothing is known (apart from this passage) of this Zechariah.

who had understanding] mg., "who gave instruction"; Heb. *mēbhîn*, a word applied to a leader of song (1 Chr. xv. 22, "skilful"; *ib.* xxv. 7, "cunning"; *ib.* ver. 8, "teacher").

in the vision of God] Read, **in the fear of God** (so LXX., Targ. Pesh.), making a slight correction of the Heb. text.

6. *the Philistines*] Cp. xvii. 11, xxi. 16, xxviii. 18; 2 Kin. xviii. 8; 1 Macc. v. 66—68, xiv. 34.

brake down the wall] See note on xxv. 23.

Jabneh] Mentioned only here in the O.T., but probably to be identified with "Jabneel" (Josh. xv. 11). At a later date it was called "Jamnia" (2 Macc. xii. 8), and, after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.,

in *the country of* Ashdod, and among the Philistines. And 7
God helped him against the Philistines, and against the
Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal, and the Meunim. And the 8
Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah: and his name spread abroad
even to the entering in of Egypt; for he waxed exceeding
strong. Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the 9
corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning *of the*

it became for a while the chief centre of Jewish intellectual and religious activities. Its ruins are to be seen about 10 miles south of Jaffa (Joppa) on the coast. The modern Yebna is a few miles inland. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 122.

Ashdod] Cp. 1 Sam. v. 1 ff.; Is. xx. 1; Zeph. ii. 4; Neh. iv. 7, xiii. 23; Acts viii. 40 (Ἄζωτος). Ashdod (modern *Esdūd*) was situated between Gaza and Joppa, some three miles from the sea.

in the country of *Ashdod*] (lit. "in Ashdod"). Perhaps the name has been repeated through an early scribal error and we should read simply "and built cities among the Philistines."

7. *against the Philistines, and against the Arabians*] "Conditions in the comparatively small and half-desert land of Judah depended essentially on its relations with the Edomite and Arabian tribes on the south-east and with the Philistines on the west": note how this comes out in the traditions of the period as narrated in Chron. Jehoshaphat dominated both Philistines and Arabians (Edomites) (xvii. 11); but Libnah (near Lachish) and Edom revolted successfully against his son Jehoram (xxi. 10). After the reigns of Ahaziah and Joash, Amaziah found himself able to assail Edom and gained a great victory (xxv. 11, 12). Later in his reign Amaziah suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Joash of Israel, and it is reasonable to suppose that Edom would seize the opportunity to reassert its independence, though Chron. is silent on the point. It is therefore in harmony with the sequence of events as narrated by the Chronicler, when in the present verse (cp. ver. 2) we are told that Amaziah's successor, Uzziah, reestablished the Judean power over Edom, and that later, against Ahaz, Edom and the Philistine cities gained the upper hand (xxviii. 17, 18).

Gur-baal] An unidentified place; a "Gur" is mentioned in 2 Kin. ix. 27. A slight correction of the Heb. would give "in Gerar (cp. Gen. xx. 1) and against the Meunim."

Meunim] Cp. xx. 1 (note).

8. *gave gifts*] i.e. tribute. Cp. 1 Chr. xviii. 2 (note).

9. *towers in Jerusalem*, etc.] The Chronicler is evidently fond of recording such traditions; cp. xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14; and the Introd. § 7, p. xlviii.

the corner gate] At the north-west corner of the walls. Cp. xxv. 23 (note).

the valley gate] Neh. ii. 13, iii. 13. Probably near the south-west corner of the walls.

10 *wall*, and fortified them. And he built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns, for he had much cattle: in the lowland also, and in the [1]plain: *and he had* husbandmen and vinedressers in the mountains and in [2]the fruitful
11 fields; for he loved husbandry. Moreover Uzziah had an army of fighting men, that went out to war by bands, according to the number of their reckoning made by Jeiel the scribe and Maaseiah the officer, under the hand of Hana-
12 niah, one of the king's captains. The whole number of the heads of fathers' *houses*, even the mighty men of valour,
13 was two thousand and six hundred. And under their hand was [3]a trained army, three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, that made war with mighty
14 power, to help the king against the enemy. And Uzziah prepared for them, even for all the host, shields, and spears, and helmets, and coats of mail, and bows, and stones for
15 slinging. And he made in Jerusalem engines, invented by

[1] Or, *table land* [2] Or, *Carmel* See 1 Sam. xxv. 2.
[3] Or, *the power of an army*

the turning of the wall] Mentioned Neh. iii. 19, 24. See G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 120.

10. *the wilderness*] i.e. the southern pasture land of Judah. Cp. Ps. lxv. 12. Fortified towers have always proved effective for controlling the Bedouin and keeping the desert roads open.

in the lowland also, and in the plain] For the "lowland" (Heb. *Shephēlah*) see i. 15 (note). The "plain" (mg. **table land**; Heb. *Mishōr*) is the name of the high pasture lands east of Jordan; apparently the part occupied by the Ammonites whom Uzziah had subdued is meant here. (For a different view see Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 119, n.)

11—15 (no parallel in Kings). UZZIAH'S ARMY.

13. *three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred*] Cp. xxv. 5 (Amaziah's army), and the notes on xiv. 8 and xvii. 14 (the forces of Asa and of Jehoshaphat).

14. *stones for slinging*] Such stones needed to be carefully chosen, for they had to be smooth and of a suitable size, cp. 1 Sam. xvii. 40. Bows and slings appear to have been favourite weapons in Benjamin, cp. 1 Chr. xii. 2; Jud. xx. 16.

15. *engines*] Doubtless contrivances similar to the Roman *catapulta* and *balista*. It is questionable whether such engines of war were really in use as early as the time of Uzziah, at least among the Israelites (see Smith, *Jerusalem*, II. 121, 122; and the *Ency. Bib.* s.v. *siege*, esp.

cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the [1]battlements, to shoot arrows and great stones withal. And his name spread far abroad; for he was marvellously helped, till he was strong.

But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up [2]so that 16
he did corruptly, and he trespassed against the LORD his God; for he went into the temple of the LORD to burn incense upon the altar of incense. And Azariah the priest 17
went in after him, and with him fourscore priests of the LORD, that were valiant men: and they withstood Uzziah the 18
king, and said unto him, It pertaineth not unto thee, Uzziah, to burn incense unto the LORD, but to the priests the sons of Aaron, that are consecrated to burn incense: go out of the sanctuary; for thou hast trespassed; neither shall it be for thine honour from the LORD God. Then Uzziah was 19

[1] Or, *corner towers* [2] Or, *to* his *destruction*

col. 4510). The next reference to similar instruments of war is in 1 Macc. vi. 51, 52.

helped] Cp. ver. 7.

16—20 (not in Kings). UZZIAH'S PRESUMPTION.

16—20. Uzziah died from leprosy, as is related in vv. 21—23 (=2 Kin. xv. 5—7). That terrible disease was always regarded as a manifestation of Divine anger against the sufferer (cp. Numb. xii. 9 ff.; 2 Kin. v. 27), but no special cause is assigned in Kings why the disaster befell Uzziah. In the present verses an adequate reason is brought forward—Uzziah, blinded by the pride of his success, infringed the privileges of the priesthood and was guilty of sacrilege. The motive for some such tale is so strong and the actual sin alleged so akin to the Chronicler's prejudices that it may well be that the tale originated with him or his immediate circle. Yet it is possible that there may be behind the present form of the tale a valid tradition of a dispute at this period between the hierarchy and the authority of the king.

16. *did corruptly*] Cp. xxvii. 2.

he trespassed] Cp. xii. 2; Josh. vii. 1, xxii. 16. The Heb. word implies presumptuous dealing with holy things.

the altar of incense] Cp. Ex. xxx. 1—10. Not only the altar, but the incense itself was "most holy"; *ib.* vv. 34—38.

17. *Azariah the priest*] i.e. the high-priest (ver. 20). He cannot be identified with any priest in the list given 1 Chr. vi. 4—15 (v. 30—41, Heb.).

18. *the priests the sons of Aaron*] Cp. xiii. 10, 11 and Num. xvi. 40.

neither shall it be for thine honour] A euphemism covering a threat of danger and disgrace.

wroth; and he had a censer in his hand to burn incense; and while he was wroth with the priests, the leprosy [1]brake forth in his forehead before the priests in the house of the
20 LORD, beside the altar of incense. And Azariah the chief priest, and all the priests, looked upon him, and, behold, he was leprous in his forehead, and they thrust him out quickly from thence; yea, himself hasted also to go out,
21 because the LORD had smitten him. And Uzziah the king was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a [2]several house, being a leper; for he was cut off from the house of the LORD: and Jotham his son was over the king's
22 house, judging the people of the land. Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah the prophet, the son
23 of Amoz, write. So Uzziah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the field of burial which belonged to the kings; for they said, He is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

[1] Heb. *rose* (as the sun). [2] Or, *lazar house*

20. *the LORD had smitten him*] So 2 Kin. xv. 5.

21—23 (= 2 Kin. xv. 5—7). THE END OF UZZIAH.

21. *a several house*] i.e. separate, special; cp. Num. xxviii. 13; Matt. xxv. 15. The same Heb. word is used in Ps. lxxxviii. 5, "*free* (R.V. 'cast off') among the dead."

cut off] The same Heb. word is translated in the same way in Is. liii. 8.

22. *did Isaiah...write*] This statement is not in Kings. Uzziah is mentioned in Is. vi. 1, and this fact may be all that lies behind the present statement. It is utterly improbable that the reference is to some writing of Isaiah which has not been preserved. Possibly some section of the midrashic Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel is meant, presuming that such a work was known to the Chronicler actually or by tradition (see Introd. § 5, pp. xxxii, xxxvi).

23. *the field of burial*] i.e. not actually in the tombs of the kings, lest they should be defiled, but in ground adjoining the royal tombs. Kings has simply "in the city of David." Cp. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25, xxviii. 27.

Jotham was twenty and five years old when he began 27
to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and
his mother's name was Jerushah the daughter of Zadok.
And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, 2
according to all that his father Uzziah had done: howbeit
he entered not into the temple of the LORD. And the
people did yet corruptly. He built the upper gate of the 3
house of the LORD, and on the wall of Ophel he built much.
Moreover he built cities in the hill country of Judah, and in 4
the forests he built castles and towers. He fought also 5
with the king of the children of Ammon, and prevailed
against them. And the children of Ammon gave him the
same year an hundred talents of silver, and ten thousand
[1]measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley. So much
did the children of Ammon render unto him, in the second
year also, and in the third. So Jotham became mighty, 6

[1] Heb. *cors*.

CH. XXVII. **1—6** (cp. 2 Kin. xv. 32—35). JOTHAM SUCCEEDS.

1. *he reigned sixteen years*] The years during which he acted as regent in place of his father (see above xxvi. 21) are included in the *sixteen*. Jotham's independent reign was probably very brief.

2. *according to all that...howbeit he entered not into the temple of the LORD*] i.e. he imitated Uzziah in all his virtues, but not in his sin against the ritual of the Temple (xxvi. 16 ff.). The clause *howbeit*, etc., is not in Kings, since Kings makes no reference to Uzziah's transgression.

did yet corruptly] In Kings, "Howbeit the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places."

3. *the upper gate*] Cp. the note on xxiii. 20.

and on the wall of Ophel he built much] The statement is made only in Chron. Like similar notices of building activity, etc.—a subject of great interest to the Chronicler—it may possibly have some basis in fact; cp. xxvi. 9 f., xxxii. 30, xxxiii. 14.

Ophel] Cp. xxxiii. 14; Neh. iii. 26, 27. It was a southern spur of the Temple Hill. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 31; and Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 152 ff.

4. *castles*] Cp. xvii. 12 (note).

5. *the children of Ammon*] Cp. xx. 1 ff., xxvi. 8.

an hundred talents of silver] Cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 33.

measures] Heb. *kōrim*. A *kōr* (= a *hōmer*, Ezek. xlv. 14, R.V.) was a dry measure holding about 11 bushels.

6. *became mighty*] The same Heb. word as in i. 1 (see note).

because he ordered his ways before the LORD his God.
7 Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars, and
his ways, behold, they are written in the book of the kings
8 of Israel and Judah. He was five and twenty years old
when he began to reign, and reigned sixteen years in Jeru-
9 salem. And Jotham slept with his fathers, and they buried
him in the city of David: and Ahaz his son reigned in his
stead.

28 Ahaz was twenty years old when he began to reign; and

7—9 (=2 Kin. xv. 36—38). THE SUMMARY OF JOTHAM'S REIGN.

7. *all his wars*] Only a war with Ammon is mentioned above, but according to 2 Kin. xv. 37 the Syro-Ephraimite war also began in Jotham's reign. The notices in Kin. and Chron. may be regarded as supplementary. Ammon was a natural ally of the Syrians, and perhaps the wording of ver. 5 (end) hints that *after* the third year Ammon was able to refuse to pay tribute. The information of Chron. is therefore plausible; but it is curious that Chron. preserves the one incident and Kings the other. The point is highly significant. Not only does it illustrate very forcibly the comparative independence of the Chronicler's narrative, which is so marked a feature in these later reigns; but also it adds to the evidence in favour of the view that the Chronicler had traditions before him other than those of Kings. Clearly he had no motive for suppressing the statement of Kin. and inventing instead a war with Ammon. We must suppose that he followed some authority independent of Kin.

the book of the kings, etc.] Cp. xxv. 26, and see Introduction, § 5.

CH. XXVIII. 1—4 (=2 Kin. xvi. 1—4). AHAZ SUCCEEDS AND PRACTISES IDOLATRY.

The reign of Ahaz is a specially interesting section of Chron., showing in a remarkable degree the freedom with which the older accounts in 2 Kin. xvi. and Is. vii. 1 ff. have been handled. A tale of a prophet is introduced (vv. 9—15). Otherwise only one new point is added—viz. an Edomite and a Philistine invasion (vv. 16—18); but all the incidents of the older tradition are altered and given new settings in such a way as may best serve what is plainly the Chronicler's main object, namely by heightening the disasters to show the exceeding sinfulness of sin. For details of the changes, see the notes on vv. 5—7, 16—21, 23, 24.

1. *Ahaz*] The full form of the name is *Jehoahaz*, the "Ja-u-ha-zi" of an inscription of Tiglath-pileser IV.

twenty years old] As he died sixteen years later leaving a son of *twenty-five* (Hezekiah, xxix. 1), Ahaz would have been only ten years old when Hezekiah was born. The numeral here or in xxix. 1 must

he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, like David his father: but he walked in the ways of the kings of Israel, and 2
made also molten images for the Baalim. Moreover he 3
burnt incense in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and burnt his children in the fire, according to the abominations

therefore be incorrect. The Pesh. in this verse reads "twenty-five years old," which is more suitable and may be right, but the coincidence would be strange if three kings in succession ascended the throne at twenty-five years of age (cp. xxvii. 1 and xxix. 1).

he did not that which was right] It is not said of Ahaz as of Manasseh, the worst of all the Judean kings, that "he did that which was evil" (xxxiii. 2).

3. *the valley of the son of Hinnom*] The name in Heb. *Gē-ben-hinnōm* or *Gē-hinnōm* is more familiar in the Greek form *Gehenna* (Matt. v. 22, R.V. mg.). The valley was S. and S.W. of Jerusalem. The evil reputation of the place perhaps was due originally to some connection with the worship of Molech (Jer. vii. 31, 32). Later it appears that the refuse of Jerusalem and the corpses of criminals were deposited in this valley, and as the verse Is. lxvi. 24 "they shall go forth, and look upon the carcases of the men that have transgressed against me: for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched..." was associated with this valley, the name *Gehenna* was eventually used to signify the place of eternal punishment (cp. Mk. ix. 43).

burnt his children in the fire] There is no doubt that actual sacrifice of the child's life by fire is implied in this formula and in parallel phrases such as "made his son to pass through the fire" (2 Kin. xvi. 3). Unfortunately the gruesome evidence regarding child-sacrifice among the ancients—Greeks and Romans as well as Semites—is far too strong to allow the theory that always or even generally branding or some symbolical dedication by fire was employed (see Barnes on 1 Kin. xi. 5). It seems that the horrible custom, which was common with the early Canaanites and Phoenicians, was very rare among the early Israelites and the kindred people of Moab (see Judg. xi. 31 and 39; 2 Kin. iii. 27), and was called forth only by the pressure of extreme need. Evidently in the break-up of the national faith which attended the imminent downfall of the State of Judah the evil authority of Ahaz and Manasseh made the practice common (see xxxiii. 6; 2 Kin. xxi. 6; Mic. vi. 7; Jer. vii. 31; Ps. cvi. 37 f.). Gen. xxii. 1—18 may be regarded as a magnificent repudiation of the rite in the worship of Jehovah, and the practice is expressly forbidden in the Law, Lev. xviii. 21; Deut. xviii. 10.

his children] In Kings, "his son" (sing.), a better reading. It is possible that the sacrifice was intended to avert the danger threatened by the Syro-Ephraimite alliance.

of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out before the children
4 of Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high
5 places, and on the hills, and under every green tree. Wherefore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away of his a great multitude of captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of
6 Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter. For Pekah

4. *under every green tree*] The Heb. word here used for "green" (*ra'anān*) means rather "flourishing," the reference being not so much to colour as to condition and size. Large fine trees (which are rarer in the East than in the West) are important landmarks; cp. 1 Chr. x. 12; Gen. xii. 6, xxxv. 4. In different ways such trees acquired a sacred or semi-sacred character (Gen. xviii. 1, xxi. 33; Judg. vi. 11); in some cases because they were associated with theophanies, in others perhaps because the flourishing state of the tree was regarded as the sign of the presence of some local deity. "No one can imagine how many voices a tree has who has not come up to it from the silence of the great desert," G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 88; cp. the same writer's *Early Poetry of Israel*, pp. 32, 33.

5—7 (cp. 2 Kin. xvi. 5—9; Is. vii. 1—9). THE SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR.

The Chronicler's account of the war conveys a very different impression from the corresponding narrative in 2 Kin. In Kings an invasion by the united forces of Israel and Syria is related. Chron. records two separate invasions, each resulting in disaster for Ahaz. In Kings the *failure* of the allies to take Jerusalem is the chief feature in the account, while in Chron. the damage and loss inflicted on Judah takes the first place, and the magnitude of the disaster is heightened in characteristically midrashic fashion: see the notes below on vv. 5, 6.

5. *the king of Syria*] i.e. Rezin.

smote him] From 2 Kin. it appears that the Syrian king, (1) helped to shut up Ahaz in Jerusalem, (2) seized the port of Elath (Eloth) on the Red Sea which had belonged to Judah. Some of the "captives" taken to Damascus were presumably brought from Elath.

carried away of his a great multitude of captives] No doubt captives were taken, some probably from Elath; but the "great multitude" is midrashic exaggeration: cp. the number of slain stated in ver. 6.

And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel] 2 Kin. records but a *single* invasion, the forces of Syria and Israel being confederate. The Chronicler's phrase implies that two separate invasions and disasters befell Ahaz—"he was *also* delivered."

the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, all of them valiant men; because they had forsaken the LORD, the God of their fathers. And 7 Zichri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the king's son, and Azrikam the ruler of the house, and Elkanah that was [1]next to the king. And the children of Israel carried 8 away captive of their brethren two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought the spoil to Samaria. But 9

[1] Heb. *second.*

6. *an hundred and twenty thousand in one day*] i.e. more than a third of the host as reckoned in xxvi. 13.

7. *the ruler of the house*] Heb. *nāgīd.* Probably the head of the king's household is meant, his "chancellor"; but cp. Neh. xi. 11, "the ruler (*nāgīd*) of the house of God."

next to the king] Cp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 17.

8—15 (not in Kings). ISRAEL SENDS BACK THE JEWISH CAPTIVES.

The tale of the intervention of Oded, his appeal, the response of the people and the army to the call of conscience, with the consequent outburst of pity for the unhappy captives, who are first tended and then restored to their kinsfolk in Judah, is something far better than literal history: it is the product of a moral and religious conviction worthy of high admiration. We have, in fact, in these verses a most clear instance of that inculcation of great religious principles which was the primary object of the writer of Chronicles. A modern ethical teacher, desirous of driving home the eternal verities, may clothe them in a story which has no basis whatsoever in actual events but is the pure product of the writer's imagination. His ancient counterpart among the Jews started with a nucleus of historical events, which however he handled freely in whatever fashion might best serve to emphasise the moral or religious lesson he desired to teach.

The deep ethical and spiritual value of this example of how to treat the fallen foe hardly requires comment—Israel must forgive, if it would be forgiven (ver. 10); the captives are—not "the enemy" but—"your brethren" (ver. 11); and, when conscience is at last awakened, how great is the revulsion, and how nobly do the generous qualities of human nature appear, when the captives, laden not with the chains of bondage (ver. 10) but with clothing and with food, are restored to their homes in peace.

It is very evident that the writer of this fine story had in mind the no less effective and beautiful narrative of Elisha's dealing with the captured Syrian army (2 Kin. vi. 21—23).

8. *of their brethren*] Cp. xi. 4, "ye shall not...fight *against your brethren.*"

a prophet of the LORD was there, whose name was Oded: and he went out to meet the host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, because the LORD, the God of your fathers, was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have slain them in a rage which
10 hath reached up unto heaven. And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: *but* are there not even with you [1]trespasses of your own against the LORD your
11 God? Now hear me therefore, and send back the captives, which ye have taken captive of your brethren: for the fierce
12 wrath of the LORD is upon you. Then certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim, Azariah the son of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, and Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of Hadlai, stood up against
13 them that came from the war, and said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the captives hither: for ye purpose that which will bring upon us [2]a trespass against the LORD, to add unto our sins and to our [2]trespass: for our [2]trespass is great,
14 and there is fierce wrath against Israel. So the armed men left the captives and the spoil before the princes and all the

[1] Heb. *guiltinesses.* [2] Or, *guilt*

9. *a prophet of the LORD was there*] Nothing further is known of Oded. For similar instances of prophetic activity narrated only in Chron. see xv. 1 ff., xvi. 7 ff., xxiv. 20 f., and esp. xxv. 7 ff.

the LORD...was wroth...and ye have slain them in a rage which hath reached up unto heaven] Cp. Zech. i. 15, "I am very sore displeased with the nations that are at ease; for I was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction."

heaven] There is a tendency in some later books of the Bible to write "heaven" for "God"; cp. xxxii. 20, "prayed and cried to heaven," also Dan. iv. 23; and similarly in the N.T., Lk. xv. 18, 21; John iii. 27: for further references see Grimm and Thayer, *Lexicon of the N.T.*, s.v. οὐρανός *ad fin.* From a like feeling of reverence the Chronicler is sparing in his use of the name "Jehovah"; cp. xvii. 4.

10. *keep under*] In Neh. v. 5, the same Heb. word is translated, "bring into bondage"; cp. Ryle's note on Hebrew slavery *in loco.* One Hebrew might hold another Hebrew as a slave for a limited period, but in the present passage the case is of one part of the people taking advantage of the fortune of war to reduce to slavery thousands of their fellow-countrymen.

congregation. And the men which have been expressed by 15
name rose up, and took the captives, and with the spoil
clothed all that were naked among them, and arrayed them,
and shod them, and gave them to eat and to drink, and
anointed them, and carried all the feeble of them upon asses,
and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto
their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.

At that time did king Ahaz send unto the [1]kings of 16

[1] Many ancient authorities read, *king*.

15. *have been expressed*] The phrase is characteristic of the Chronicler; cp. xxxi. 19; 1 Chr. xii. 31, xvi. 41; Ezra viii. 20.

took the captives] Render, **took hold of the captives**; i.e. succoured them; LXX. ἀντελάβοντο, cp. Heb. ii. 16 ἐπιλαμβάνεται = "he taketh hold of."

to eat and to drink] Cp. 2 Kin. vi. 23.

anointed them] Part of the host's duty; cp. Luke vii. 44—46.

to Jericho] Jericho perhaps belonged to the Northern Kingdom; cp. 1 Kin. xvi. 34; 2 Kin. ii. 4. A road led to it from Mount Ephraim past '*Ain ed-Duk*. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography*, pp. 266 ff.

the city of palm trees] Cp. Deut. xxxiv. 3. The phrase is an alternative name of Jericho; cp. Judg. i. 16, iii. 13. Date palms were common in Jericho down to the seventh century of the Christian era. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], pp. 128 f.

16—21 (= 2 Kin. xvi. 7—9). AHAZ INVOKES ASSYRIAN AID.

There is an important variation here between Chron. and Kings. According to Chron. (ver. 21) Ahaz gained nothing by his tribute to the king of Assyria; according to Kings the Assyrian accepted the offering and marched against Syria, capturing Damascus and slaying Rezin. Further in Chron. it is said that the help of Assyria was invoked, not against the kings of Syria and Israel as in 2 Kin., but against Edomites and Philistines. Some alteration was required in consequence of the insertion in Chron. of the midrashic narrative of vv. 8—15, according to which Ahaz was delivered from his disaster at the hands of Israel not by the king of Assyria (so Kings) but simply through the awakening of Israel's conscience and the consequent release of the captives and the spoil. If therefore the Chronicler was to introduce the story of Ahaz' appeal to Assyria, he could only do so by supplying new enemies for Ahaz to combat. These, however, were appropriately found in the Philistines and Edomites, regarding whom the Chronicler seems to have had various traditions (see notes on xxi. 8, 16, xxvi. 6).

16. *the kings*] LXX. "king" (sing.). This monarch was Tiglath-pileser IV; cp. 2 Kin. xvi. 7.

17 Assyria to help him. For again the Edomites had come
18 and smitten Judah, and carried away [1]captives. The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the lowland, and of the South of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and Aijalon, and Gederoth, and Soco with the [2]towns thereof, and Timnah with the [2]towns thereof, Gimzo also and the [2]towns
19 thereof: and they dwelt there. For the LORD brought Judah low because of Ahaz king of Israel; for he had [3]dealt wantonly in Judah, and trespassed sore against the LORD.
20 And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came [4]unto him, and
21 distressed him, but [5]strengthened him not. For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the LORD, and out of the house of the king and of the princes, and gave it unto the
22 king of Assyria: but it helped him not. And in the time
[6]of his distress did he trespass yet more against the LORD,
23 this same king Ahaz. For he sacrificed unto the gods of

[1] Heb. *a captivity.* [2] Heb. *daughters.* [3] Or, *cast away restraint* [4] Or, *against* [5] Or, *prevailed not against him* [6] Or, *that he distressed him*

18. *had invaded*] Rather, **raided.**
the lowland] Heb. *Shephēlāh.* Cp. i. 15 (note).
Beth-shemesh] Cp. 1 Chr. vi. 59 [44, Heb.], note.
Aijalon] Cp. xi. 10.
Gederoth] Jos. xv. 41. *Soco*] Cp. xi. 7.
Timnah] Jos. xv. 10; Judg. xiv. 1 ff.
Gimzo] The modern *Jimzu* S.E. of Lydda, Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 18. The place is not mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament.

19. *king of Israel*] Cp. xi. 3 (note).
he had dealt wantonly] mg. "cast away restraint." Cp. Ex. xxxii. 25 (A.V. and R.V.) where the same Heb. verb is twice used.

20. *Tilgath-pilneser*] i.e. Tiglath-pileser IV. Cp. 1 Chr. v. 6 (note).
came...him not] Tiglath-pileser, invoked as an ally, is here represented as having come as an unscrupulous oppressor, accepting the bribe and not fulfilling the task for which he was paid by Ahaz (ver. 21). But neither 2 Kin. nor the Assyrian records relate that Tiglath-pileser thus came into Judah; and it must be remarked that the Heb. text in this verse does not inspire confidence. Any interpretation is accordingly rendered uncertain.

22—25 (cp. 2 Kin. xvi. 10—18). APOSTASY OF AHAZ.

23. *the gods of Damascus*] In 2 Kin. the statement is merely that Ahaz made a copy of an altar which he saw at Damascus, and sacrificed

[1]Damascus, which smote him: and he said, Because the gods of the kings of Syria helped them, *therefore* will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me. But they were the ruin of him, and of all Israel. And Ahaz gathered 24
together the vessels of the house of God, and cut in pieces

[1] Heb. *Darmesek.*

upon it. The altar at Damascus was probably the one used by Tiglath-pileser and therefore an Assyrian rather than a Damascene altar. The use of such an altar was an act of apostasy from Jehovah, for a foreign altar implied a foreign god; cp. 2 Kin. v. 17.

the gods...which smote him] Early passages of the O.T. show that the Israelites for long believed the gods of other peoples to be no less real than Jehovah. Later, when the teaching of the great prophets had impressed on the people the sense of Jehovah's supreme majesty, the alien deities, though still conceived as real Beings holding sway over the nations worshipping them, were felt to be incomparable with Jehovah, hardly deserving therefore the title of God. Still later, in certain circles, all reality whatever was denied to the gods of the heathen; they were nothing at all (cp. Isaiah xl.—xlviii., *passim*). Almost certainly the last opinion would be the belief of the Chronicler and of *most* orthodox Jews of his time; so that it is unnecessary to suppose that the present phrase "which smote him" is more than a convenient way of speaking. It does not indicate that the Chronicler, or even his source in Kings, believed in the existence of these gods of Damascus. On the other hand the Chronicler (and his source) does imply in this verse that *Ahaz* had a lively belief in the efficacy and reality of the gods of his foes; and therein no doubt he correctly represents the condition of thought in that period.

the gods of the kings of Syria helped them] At this time the Syrians of Damascus had been conquered by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser (2 Kin. xvi. 9), so that either we must suppose a confusion in the Chronicler's mind, or else the statement needs to be corrected by reading "kings of *Assyria* (Asshur)" for "kings of *Syria* (Aram)." The reading "Syria" might be due to some writer or scribe, who lived at a time when one Empire extended from Babylon to the Mediterranean and included both Syria and Assyria. Such was the case under the Persians and under the successors of Alexander down to the time of the Maccabees. The Romans similarly failed at first to distinguish the ancient empire east of the Euphrates, i.e. Assyria (=Asshur), from the peoples west of the Euphrates, the Arameans, whom they mistakenly called "Syrians" (a shortened form of "Assyrians"), whose chief cities were Antioch, Hamath, and Damascus. This use of "Syrian" has passed over into English, but the more accurate designation is "Aramean"; cp. Gen. xxviii. 5 (R.V.).

helped them] Render "help them."

24. *cut in pieces the vessels*] Presumably in order to smelt them

the vessels of the house of God, and shut up the doors of the house of the LORD; and he made him altars in every
25 corner of Jerusalem. And in every several city of Judah he made high places to burn incense unto other gods, and
26 provoked to anger the LORD, the God of his fathers. Now the rest of his acts, and all his ways, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and
27 Israel. And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, even in Jerusalem; for they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

and put the metal to other uses; cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 13. According to 2 Kin. xvi. 17 Ahaz merely "cut off the borders ('panels' R.V. mg.) of the bases and removed the laver from off them, and took down the sea from off the brasen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of stone." In Chron. something more than this is intended, for "the vessels" would naturally mean such vessels as are mentioned in 2 Kin. xxiv. 13.

shut up the doors] The Chronicler possibly derives his statement from the difficult passage 2 Kin. xvi. 18 (*vide* A.V. and R.V.). That passage, however, speaks merely of an alteration carried out by Ahaz on one of the entrances to the Temple, but says nothing of a complete closing of the Temple; indeed it may be gathered from 2 Kin. xvi. 14—16 that the Temple was not closed and that the daily service went on, *with the great change* that the king's new altar was used instead of the brasen altar. The Chronicler, unwilling to suppose so horrible a desecration of the Temple as the performance of Ahaz' idolatries within its precincts would involve, placed these rites outside the area of the Temple and expressly asserts that the Temple was closed.

25. *in every several city*] Cp. Jer. ii. 28.

26, 27 (= 2 Kin. xvi. 19, 20). THE END OF AHAZ.

27. *they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel*] An alteration of 2 Kin. which says that Ahaz "was buried with his fathers." Cp. xxi. 20, xxiv. 25, xxvi. 23.

CH. XXIX. **1, 2** (=2 Kin. xviii. 1—3). THE REIGN OF HEZEKIAH.

The reign of Hezekiah is related in chs. xxix.—xxxii. Of this section chs. xxix., xxx., and xxxi. furnish new material with the exception of only three verses, xxix. 1, 2; xxx. 1. This new material describes first, the reopening and cleansing of the Temple and the restoration of worship therein (xxix.); secondly, a solemn and magnificent celebration of the Passover (xxx.); and thirdly, a crusade against idolatrous shrines

Hezekiah began to reign when he was five and twenty 29
years old; and he reigned nine and twenty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Abijah the daughter of
Zechariah. And he did that which was right in the eyes of 2
the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.
He in the first year of his reign, in the first month, opened 3
the doors of the house of the LORD, and repaired them.
And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered 4

and images, followed by a reorganisation of the arrangements for the support of the priests and Levites—all ecclesiastical topics dear to the heart of the Chronicler. These chapters throughout are in the spirit of the Chronicler, the incidents are generally conceived after the fashion of the ideas of his period, the language bears frequent marks of his characteristic style; and altogether there is no adequate reason to suppose that these incidents are historically true, or even are derived by the Chronicler from old tradition. They are probably his own free composition. Minor considerations point to the same conclusion (see note on xxix. 3 below); and the favourable verdict which in Kings is passed upon Hezekiah may be reckoned a satisfactory motive and a sufficient source for the Chronicler's narrative. According to Kings (2 Kin. xviii. 3—6) Hezekiah "removed the high places...and cut down the Asherah, and brake in pieces the brasen serpent that Moses had made....He trusted in the LORD, the God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor among them that were before him"; a eulogy sufficiently glowing to warrant the assumption that Hezekiah must also have done all those other things which seemed to the Chronicler natural for so pious a monarch to do, and which accordingly are here related.

1. *Hezekiah*] Heb. "Yehizkiah" (so usually in the Heb. text of Chron.). "Hezekiah" (Heb. "Hizkiah"), the form of the name in Kings, is conveniently used in the English versions of Chron. in place of the less familiar "Yehizkiah."

Abijah] In 2 Kin. "Abi" which is probably only a shortened form of the name.

3—11 (not in 2 Kin.). HEZEKIAH COMMANDS TO CLEANSE THE TEMPLE.

3. *in the first month*] i.e. in Nisan; cp. xxx. 2, 3.

opened the doors] The reopening was a necessary sequel to the Chronicler's assertion (xxviii. 24) that Ahaz closed the Temple. If therefore the supposed closing was unhistorical (see note, xxviii. 24) the reopening must be equally so. The notion, however, served the Chronicler admirably, enabling him to enhance the piety of Hezekiah by a full description of the restoration of the Temple services.

5 them together into the broad place on the east, and said
unto them, Hear me, ye Levites; now sanctify yourselves,
and sanctify the house of the LORD, the God of your fathers,
6 and carry forth the filthiness out of the holy place. For
our fathers have trespassed, and done that which was evil
in the sight of the LORD our God, and have forsaken him,
and have turned away their faces from the habitation of the
7 LORD, and turned their backs. Also they have shut up the
doors of the porch, and put out the lamps, and have not
burned incense nor offered burnt offerings in the holy place
8 unto the God of Israel. Wherefore the wrath of the LORD
was upon Judah and Jerusalem, and he hath delivered
them to be [1]tossed to and fro, to be an astonishment, and
9 an hissing, as ye see with your eyes. For, lo, our fathers
have fallen by the sword, and our sons and our daughters
10 and our wives are in captivity for this. Now it is in mine
heart to make a covenant with the LORD, the God of Israel,
11 that his fierce anger may turn away from us. My sons, be
not now negligent: for the LORD hath chosen you to stand
before him, to minister unto him, and that ye should be his
ministers, and burn incense.

[1] Or, *a terror*

4. *into the broad place on the east*] The place meant was part of the Temple area, the space before the water-gate; cp. Ezra x. 9, "the broad place before the house of God" (R.V.).

5. *now sanctify yourselves*] Cp. Ex. xix. 10—15.

6. *from the habitation of the* LORD] Cp. xxiv. 18 "they forsook the house of the LORD" (see note).

habitation] Heb. "tabernacle," as in Ex. xxv. 9, al.

7. Contrast 2 Kin. xvi. 10—16, where Ahaz appears as an innovator in ritual but also as a zealous advocate of worship in the Temple.

the lamps] Cp. xiii. 11; Ex. xxv. 31 ff.

8. *to be tossed to and fro*] Better, as mg., **to be a terror** (or "cause of trembling"). The judgement on Israel fills the surrounding nations with trembling for themselves. The rendering of the text "tossed to and fro" is inferior because the Heb. word describes "trembling" and not "motion from place to place."

10. *a covenant*] Cp. xv. 12.

11. *to stand before him*] Deut. x. 8.

Then the Levites arose, Mahath the son of Amasai, and 12
Joel the son of Azariah, of the sons of the Kohathites:
and of the sons of Merari, Kish the son of Abdi, and
Azariah the son of Jehallelel: and of the Gershonites, Joah
the son of Zimmah, and Eden the son of Joah: and of the 13
sons of Elizaphan, Shimri and Jeuel: and of the sons of
Asaph, Zechariah and Mattaniah: and of the sons of He- 14
man, Jehuel and Shimei: and of the sons of Jeduthun,
Shemaiah and Uzziel. And they gathered their brethren, 15
and sanctified themselves, and went in, according to the
commandment of the king by the words of the LORD, to
cleanse the house of the LORD. And the priests went in 16
unto the inner part of the house of the LORD, to cleanse
it, and brought out all the uncleanness that they found
in the temple of the LORD into the court of the house of
the LORD. And the Levites took it, to carry it out abroad
to the brook Kidron. Now they began on the first *day* of 17
the first month to sanctify, and on the eighth day of the
month came they to the porch of the LORD; and they
sanctified the house of the LORD in eight days: and on the

12—19 (not in 2 Kin.). THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE.

With this passage cp. 1 Macc. iv. 36—51 (the cleansing of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus).

12. *the Levites*] The fourteen persons mentioned in these three verses comprise (*a*) two representatives each of the three great branches of Levi, namely, Kohath, Merari, and Gershon, (*b*) two representatives of the great Kohathite family of Elizaphan (cp. Num. iii. 30 and 1 Chr. xv. 8), (*c*) two representatives each of the three divisions of the singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (1 Chr. xxv. 1).

15. *by the words of the LORD*] i.e. the king's command was recognised to be in accordance with the Divine will. Read **by the word**; the plural *words* is probably only a textual error.

16. *the priests*] The work was so divided between priests and Levites that only the priests went into the house.

unto the inner part of the house] Render, **within the house.** The reference is not to the Holy of Holies specially, but to the whole interior of the house.

uncleanness] Cp. ver. 5; Is. xxx. 22.

to the brook Kidron] The brook Kidron is the deep valley on the east of Jerusalem separating it from the Mount of Olives; 2 Sam. xv. 23; John xviii. 1. It was treated as an unclean spot, cp. xv. 16.

17. *to sanctify...and they sanctified*] Two periods of eight days each

18 sixteenth day of the first month they made an end. Then they went in to Hezekiah the king within *the palace*, and said, We have cleansed all the house of the LORD, and the altar of burnt offering, with all the vessels thereof, and the
19 table of shewbread, with all the vessels thereof. Moreover all the vessels, which king Ahaz in his reign did cast away when he trespassed, have we prepared and sanctified; and, behold, they are before the altar of the LORD.
20 Then Hezekiah the king arose early, and gathered the princes of the city, and went up to the house of the LORD.
21 And they brought seven bullocks, and seven rams, and seven lambs, and seven he-goats, for a sin offering for the kingdom and for the sanctuary and for Judah. And he commanded the priests the sons of Aaron to offer them on
22 the altar of the LORD. So they killed the bullocks, and the priests received the blood, and sprinkled it on the altar:

were spent in "sanctifying," the courts apparently requiring eight days and the house itself eight days.

18. *the table of shewbread*] Cp. iv. 8 (note), 19; 1 Chr. xxviii. 16—"the *tables* of shewbread."

19. *cast away*] According to xxviii. 24, "cut in pieces"; cp. 2 Kin. xvi. 17. The reference is probably to the "bases" and the "sea."

have we prepared] Render, **have we set up.** Ahaz had taken away the supports both of the laver and of the sea (2 Kin. xvi. 17).

20—24 (not in 2 Kin.). THE SEVENFOLD SACRIFICE FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF THE PEOPLE.

The ritual of the sin offering is fully given in Lev. iv. Ahaz had broken the covenant, and Hezekiah's sin offering was intended to atone for the breach.

21. *they brought*] As the sacrifice was not for an individual but for a whole people the offering on this occasion consisted of seven of each of four different sacrificial animals, the bullocks, rams, and lambs being used for the burnt offering (vv. 22 and 24), and the he-goats for the special sin offering (ver. 23).

for the kingdom] i.e. for the kingly house.

for the sanctuary] i.e. for the Temple (cp. Lev. xvi. 16), but probably inclusive of the personnel of the Temple, i.e. the priests and Levites, since otherwise they would have been passed over in the great sin offering.

on the altar of the LORD] Not on the altar of Ahaz (2 Kin. xvi. 11).

22. *received the blood*] In basons with which they *dashed* (not

and they killed the rams, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar: they killed also the lambs, and sprinkled the blood upon the altar. And they brought near the he-goats for the 23
sin offering before the king and the congregation; and they laid their hands upon them: and the priests killed them, and 24
they made a sin offering with their blood upon the altar, to make atonement for all Israel: for the king commanded *that* the burnt offering and the sin offering *should be made* for all Israel. And he set the Levites in the house of the LORD 25
with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet: for the commandment was of the LORD by his prophets. And the Levites stood with the 26
instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets. And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering upon 27
the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song of the LORD began also, and the trumpets, together with the instruments of David king of Israel. And all the congre- 28
gation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all this *continued* until the burnt offering was finished. And when they had made an end of offering, the 29
king and all that were present with him bowed themselves

as the text "sprinkled") the blood against the altar. This dashing was different from the sprinkling with the finger.

23. *brought near*] i.e. to the king and the people.

and they laid their hands] "they" = the representatives of the people, for whom the sacrifice was to be offered, cp. Lev. iv. 15.

25—30. THE LEVITICAL SERVICE OF MUSIC.

25. *and of Gad...and Nathan*] Neither of these prophets is elsewhere said to have had a part in inciting David to the organisation of the Temple music with which the Chronicler credits him. Their names are introduced in order to emphasise the value of the musicians of the Temple, whose service is thus declared to have arisen through the inspiration of prophets; cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 19.

26. *with the instruments*] LXX. ἐν ὀργάνοις. Cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 5.

27. *and the trumpets*] Cp. 1 Chr. xv. 24 (note).

together with the instruments of David] Render perhaps, **even according to the guidance of the instruments of David**, i.e. led (or "accompanied") by them.

29. *bowed themselves and worshipped*] i.e. first bowed down (on their knees) and then completely prostrated themselves.

30 and worshipped. Moreover Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises unto the LORD with the words of David, and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed their
31 heads and worshipped. Then Hezekiah answered and said, Now ye have [1]consecrated yourselves unto the LORD, come near and bring sacrifices and thank offerings into the house of the LORD. And the congregation brought in sacrifices and thank offerings; and as many as were of a willing heart
32 *brought* burnt offerings. And the number of the burnt offerings, which the congregation brought, was threescore and ten bullocks, an hundred rams, and two hundred lambs: all these were for a burnt offering to the LORD.
33 And the consecrated things were six hundred oxen and

[1] Heb. *filled your hand.*

30. *to sing praises*] Since (1) the Heb. word for "Psalms" means "Praises," and (2) the words of *David* and *Asaph* are specially mentioned in this verse, it is clear that the Chronicler by this phrase means "to sing *Psalms*."

31—36 (not in Kings). A GREAT SACRIFICE OF BURNT OFFERINGS AND THANK OFFERINGS.

31. *answered and said*] i.e. answered the thoughts or expectation of the people as expressed by the Sacrifices and the Songs; cp. Job iii. 2 (R.V.).

ye have consecrated yourselves] Heb. "filled your hand"; cp. xiii. 9; Ex. xxviii. 41.

sacrifices and thank offerings] The phrase means simply the special type of sacrifices which were termed "thank offerings." The fat of such offerings was burnt on the altar, the breast and right thigh were reserved for the priests, but the remainder belonged to the offerer and was used for a joyous meal (Lev. vii. 12 ff.). The burnt offering was entirely consumed on the altar, no portion being kept by priests or offerer (Lev. i. 1—13): hence such sacrifices represented a greater cost and are accordingly said to be given by those who were "of willing heart," i.e. conspicuously pious and generous.

33. *the consecrated things*] The term was applied (1) to gold and other valuables offered in the Temple; cp. xv. 18; 1 Chr. xviii. 8—11; (2) to those parts of the various sacrifices which were assigned to be eaten by the priests; Lev. xxi. 22 ("the holy [bread]"), xxii. 2, 3, 15 ("the holy things"). Here the reference is more general, i.e. to the thank offerings (ver. 35) themselves.

three thousand sheep. But the priests were too few, so 34
that they could not flay all the burnt offerings: wherefore
their brethren the Levites did help them, till the work was
ended, and until the priests had sanctified themselves: for
the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify them-
selves than the priests. And also the burnt offerings were 35
in abundance, with the fat of the peace offerings, and with
the drink offerings for every burnt offering. So the service
of the house of the LORD was set in order. And Hezekiah 36
rejoiced, and all the people, because of that which God
had prepared for the people: for the thing was done
suddenly.

34. *the priests*] According to Lev. i. 5 f. the task of flaying the sacrifice was to be performed by the offerer. Either this passage marks a later stage in the customary ritual, or perhaps this occasion was regarded by the Chronicler as exceptional because the offerings were brought on behalf of the "congregation" in general. The verse presents other difficult features. Who were the priests who had not yet sanctified themselves? What is the significance of the evident contrast between the attitude of the priests and that of the Levites, to the disadvantage of the former? It would seem that there were priests who had deliberately or slackly failed to comply with Hezekiah's injunction (vv. 4, 5) and were therefore still ritually unclean from the pollution of the previous reign. In general we infer that the Levites had either been less deeply involved in the idolatries of Ahaz or at least were more zealous than the priests for the restoration of the worship of Jehovah alone. Possibly this tradition may truly represent the historical facts; or it may be an inference derived from 2 Kin. xvi. 16 where the subservience of the high-priest Urijah to king Ahaz is mentioned (so Kittel). Less probable is the view of Benzinger that this verse has been added by the Chronicler to the midrashic source upon which he is here depending, and that it represents merely the Chronicler's personal predilection for the Levites as distinct from the priests.

35. *with the fat*] Cp. vii. 7; Lev. iii. 3, 17.

the peace offerings] i.e. the thank offerings (ver. 31).

drink offerings] Cp. Num. xv. 5, 7, 10. The offering was to be of wine, and the quantity used was to correspond with the size of the animal sacrificed.

was set in order] i.e. was re-established.

36. *that which God had prepared for the people*] It was God, not Hezekiah, who had done it all.

suddenly] In the very first year of Hezekiah's reign (ver. 3).

30 And Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote
letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should
come to the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, to keep the
2 passover unto the LORD, the God of Israel. For the king
had taken counsel, and his princes, and all the congregation
in Jerusalem, to keep the passover in the second month.
3 For they could not keep it at that time, because the priests
had not sanctified themselves in sufficient number, neither
had the people gathered themselves together to Jerusalem.
4 And the thing was right in the eyes of the king and of all
5 the congregation. So they established a decree to make
proclamation throughout all Israel, from Beer-sheba even to
Dan, that they should come to keep the passover unto the
LORD, the God of Israel, at Jerusalem: for they had not
6 kept it [1]in great numbers in such sort as it is written. So

[1] Or, *of a long time*

CH. XXX. 1—12 (not in 2 Kin.). HEZEKIAH INVITES ALL ISRAEL TO KEEP THE PASSOVER.

From ver. 2 it appears that this Passover took place in the first year of Hezekiah while the Northern Kingdom was still standing. The invitation to share in it at Jerusalem which Hezekiah is here (ver. 1) said to have sent to north Israel is opposed to all historic probability. The Chronicler, however, was little likely to be troubled by that difficulty, even if he had observed it (see note, ver. 5). Furthermore it is a plausible suggestion that the references to Ephraim, Manasseh, etc. in vv. 1, 10, 11, 18 really reflect conditions of the Chronicler's own circumstances, regarding which see the note on xv. 9. It is therefore a mistake to suggest that the date may be wrong and that the Passover really took place in the sixth year of Hezekiah after the fall of Samaria on the ground that the invitation would then be more credible.

2. *in the second month*] The Law allowed such a postponement; cp. Num. ix. 10, 11.

3. *at that time*] In the first month.

5. *to make proclamation*] A phrase characteristic of the Chronicler.

from Beer-sheba even to Dan] i.e. the extreme points of the undivided kingdom of David and Solomon. "The existence of the N. Kingdom is either ignored or more probably the writer assumed that it had already fallen" (Curtis). On the origin of the phrase and the order in Chron. (*Beer-sheba to Dan* not *Dan to Beer-sheba*, as in 2 Sam. xxiv. 2, etc.) see Hogg in the *Expositor*, 1898, pp. 411—421.

they had not kept it in great numbers in such sort as it is written] The statement applies to Israel, not to Judah; for the first time an

the posts went with the letters from the king and his princes throughout all Israel and Judah, and according to the commandment of the king, saying, Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the LORD, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, that he may return to the remnant that are escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria. And be not 7 ye like your fathers, and like your brethren, which trespassed against the LORD, the God of their fathers, so that he gave them up [1]to desolation, as ye see. Now be ye not 8 stiffnecked, as your fathers were; but [2]yield yourselves unto the LORD, and enter into his sanctuary, which he hath sanctified for ever, and serve the LORD your God, that his fierce anger may turn away from you. For if ye turn again 9 unto the LORD, your brethren and your children shall find compassion before them that led them captive, and shall come again into this land: for the LORD your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if ye return unto him. So the posts passed from city 10 to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulun: but they laughed them to scorn, and mocked them. Nevertheless divers of Asher and Manasseh 11

[1] Or, *to be an astonishment* [2] Heb. *give the hand.*

attempt is made to draw Israel *en masse* to a regular Passover at Jerusalem.

6. *the posts*] Lit. "the runners."

the remnant that are escaped of you out of the hand of the kings of Assyria] The phrase applies most naturally to the final downfall of Samaria through Shalmaneser and Sargon (722—721 B.C.), but it is possible of course to interpret it of the repeated disasters at the hands of the Assyrians in the time of Tiglath-pileser some ten years earlier.

7. *to desolation*] Render, as mg., **to be an astonishment**; cp. xxix. 8 (same Heb. word).

8. *yield yourselves*] Lit. "give the hand"; cp. 1 Chr. xxix. 24 ("submitted themselves").

sanctified for ever] Cp. vii. 16.

9. *shall find compassion*] Cp. Ps. cvi. 46 (a similar phrase in Heb.).

11. *of Asher*] *Asher* is somewhat strange. The parallel with ver. 10 alone suggests that we should read **of Ephraim**; and this is the more probable if the real significance of the reference is for the Chronicler's period (see the head-note, and xv. 9). It is not likely that Judaism at that time could claim many adherents in the old territory of Asher (see Hölscher, *Palästina*, p. 32).

and of Zebulun humbled themselves, and came to Jerusalem.
12 Also in Judah was the hand of God to give them one heart,
to do the commandment of the king and of the princes by
13 the word of the LORD. And there assembled at Jerusalem
much people to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the
14 second month, a very great congregation. And they arose
and took away the altars that were in Jerusalem, and all the
[1]altars for incense took they away, and cast them into the
15 brook Kidron. Then they killed the passover on the four-
teenth *day* of the second month: and the priests and the
Levites were ashamed, and sanctified themselves, and
16 brought burnt offerings into the house of the LORD. And
they stood in their place after their order, according to
the law of Moses the man of God: the priests sprinkled

[1] Or, *vessels*

humbled themselves] So xxxiii. 12.

12. *Also in Judah was the hand of God*] i.e. the mighty working of God, which brought some penitents from far parts of Israel, manifested itself in Judah also.

the commandment of the king...by the word of the LORD] The king's command was according to God's command in the Law.

13—27 (not in 2 Kin.). HEZEKIAH'S GREAT PASSOVER.

It seems clear that the story of Hezekiah's Passover has been composed by the Chronicler on the analogy of Josiah's grand celebration of that feast (see xxxv. 1—19), which the present festival even surpasses in some respects—viz. in its scope (for all Israel and strangers, whereas Josiah's was for Judeans only) and in its duration (for two weeks, Josiah's for one). Josiah's Passover was famous because of the account of it in Kings. Doubtless the Chronicler felt that a celebration of that feast was incumbent upon a great reforming monarch, and he has therefore credited Hezekiah with observing it.

13. *the feast of unleavened bread*] In the "Passover" were united two separate "feasts," (1) the eating of the lamb on the fourteenth of Nisan, (2) the eating of unleavened bread from the fourteenth to the twenty-first of Nisan. The combined Feast was sometimes called "the Passover" and sometimes (as here) "the feast of unleavened bread"; cp. Ex. xii. 1—14 and 17—20, and note that the intervening verses, 15, 16, bind the two feasts into one celebration.

14. *the altars*] Cp. xxviii. 24.

15. *the second month*] Cp. vv. 2, 3.

were ashamed] Of their former backwardness; cp. ver. 3, xxix. 34.

the blood, *which they received* of the hand of the Levites.
For there were many in the congregation that had not 17
sanctified themselves: therefore the Levites had the charge
of killing the passovers for every one that was not clean,
to sanctify them unto the LORD. For a multitude of the 18
people, even many of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and
Zebulun, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the
passover otherwise than it is written. For Hezekiah had
prayed for them, saying, The good LORD pardon [1]every one
that setteth his heart to seek God, the LORD, the God of 19
his fathers, though *he be* not *cleansed* according to the
purification of the sanctuary. And the LORD hearkened to 20
Hezekiah, and healed the people. And the children of Israel 21
that were present at Jerusalem kept the feast of unleavened
bread seven days with great gladness: and the Levites and
the priests praised the LORD day by day, *singing* with loud

[1] Or, *him that setteth his whole heart*

17. *of killing the passovers*] "Passovers" (plur. rare) = "Paschal victims"; cp. ver. 15, xxxv. 8 ("passover offerings").

18. *of Ephraim*, etc.] The list of tribes given here does not agree with the list in ver. 11, but in both cases it may be that the Chronicler merely wished by his list to designate *men of the Northern Kingdom* as opposed to those of the Southern. He could not make the distinction by using the term "Israel" here, for in Chron. "Israel" as a rule is *not* used in opposition to "Judah"; cp. xi. 3 (note). (For a somewhat different view, see the head-note on vv. 1—12 and xv. 9.)

otherwise than it is written] i.e. they were allowed to partake of the Passover meal, although not purified according to the regulations of the Law.

18, 19. *The good LORD pardon every one that*, etc.] In Heb. ver. 18 ends abruptly with the word "pardon." Probably the R.V. is correct in disregarding the Heb. division. The phrase "the good LORD" is not found elsewhere, and another suggestion is to transpose the adjective and read (ver. 18)... "**The LORD pardon the good**: (ver. 19) **even every one that,**" etc. The LXX., however, supports the order of the Heb. text.

20. *healed the people*] By *prevention*; no plague was allowed to break out among them, although uncleanness in the sanctuary had been threatened with death; Lev. xv. 31.

21. *with loud instruments*] Lit. "with instruments of strength." It is better to read "with all their might" (as 1 Chr. xiii. 8). The change in Heb. amounts only to the dropping of the smallest letter (*yōd*).

22 instruments unto the LORD. And Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all the Levites that were well skilled *in the service* of the LORD. So they did eat throughout the feast for the seven days, offering sacrifices of peace offerings, and [1]making con-
23 fession to the LORD, the God of their fathers. And the whole congregation took counsel to keep other seven days:
24 and they kept *other* seven days with gladness. For Hezekiah king of Judah did give to the congregation for offerings a thousand bullocks and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave to the congregation a thousand bullocks and ten thousand sheep: and a great number of priests sanctified
25 themselves. And all the congregation of Judah, with the priests and the Levites, and all the congregation that came out of Israel, and the strangers that came out of the land of
26 Israel, and that dwelt in Judah, rejoiced. So there was great joy in Jerusalem: for since the time of Solomon the son of David king of Israel there was not the like in Jeru-
27 salem. Then the priests the Levites arose and blessed the people: and their voice was heard, and their prayer came up to his holy habitation, even unto heaven.

[1] Or, *giving thanks*

22. *spake comfortably*] i.e. with kindly and appreciative words. For the phrase cp. Is. xl. 2.

making confession] Or, as mg., "giving thanks."

23. other *seven days*] Cp. vii. 9 (Solomon's Dedication Feast).

24. *sanctified themselves*] Cp. xxix. 34.

25. *the strangers*] i.e. men of alien descent dwelling in Israel with certain conceded, not inherited, rights, and with most of the obligations of the native Israelite. LXX. οἱ προσήλυτοι. Cp. ii. 17; 1 Chr. xxii. 2 for the unfavourable side of a "stranger's" position.

26. *since the time of Solomon*] For Solomon's great festival, see v. 2 ff.

there was not the like] Cp. what is said of Josiah's Passover; xxxv. 18 (note).

27. *the priests the Levites*] So in xxiii. 18, but only in these two places in Chron. The phrase is Deuteronomic, and implies that at the stage of ritual development represented in Deuteronomy *all* Levites were potentially priests. Such was not in any case the view of the Chronicler, and perhaps we ought to read "the priests and the Levites" both here and in xxiii. 18.

31 Now when all this was finished, all Israel that were present went out to the cities of Judah, and brake in pieces the [1]pillars, and hewed down the Asherim, and brake down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also and Manasseh, until they had destroyed them all. Then all the children of Israel returned, every man to his possession, into their own cities. 2 And Hezekiah appointed the courses of the priests and the Levites after their courses, every man according to his service, both the priests and the Levites, for burnt offerings and for peace offerings, to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates of the camp of the LORD. 3 *He appointed* also the king's portion of his substance for the burnt offerings, *to wit*, for the morning and evening burnt offerings, and the burnt offerings for the sabbaths, and for the new moons, and for the set feasts, as it is written in the law of the LORD. 4 Moreover he commanded the people that dwelt in Jerusalem to give the portion of the priests and the Levites, that they might [2]give themselves to the law of the LORD.

[1] Or, *obelisks* [2] Heb. *be strong in.*

CH. XXXI. **1** (cp. 2 Kin. xviii. 4). DESTRUCTION OF IDOLATROUS SYMBOLS.

1. *the pillars...the Asherim*] Cp. xiv. 3 (note).

in Ephraim also] It is obviously assumed that the Northern Kingdom had come to an end; cp. xxx. 6, 9.

2—21 (not in 2 Kin.). ORGANISATION OF THE PRIESTS. TITHE.

If the Temple had been desecrated and closed by Ahaz, it would follow that the organisation of its Priests and Levites had fallen into confusion. The Chronicler therefore makes Hezekiah the restorer of the system inaugurated by David, and treats this edifying topic at some length.

2. *the courses*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiv. 1 ff.

to minister, and to give thanks, and to praise in the gates] Better, as LXX., altering the order, *to give thanks and to praise and to minister in the gates.* "To minister in the gates," i.e. to be doorkeepers, cp. 1 Chr. xxvi. 1.

the camp of the LORD] i.e. (in the language of Deut.) "the place which the Lord chose," *Jerusalem* or, more exactly, the *Temple area.* Cp. 1 Chr. ix. 18, note.

3. *the burnt offerings*] Cp. viii. 12, 13.

5 And as soon as the commandment came abroad, the children of Israel gave in abundance the firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field; and 6 the tithe of all things brought they in abundantly. And the children of Israel and Judah, that dwelt in the cities of Judah, they also brought in the tithe of oxen and sheep, and the tithe of dedicated things which were consecrated 7 unto the LORD their God, and laid them by heaps. In the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, 8 and finished them in the seventh month. And when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed 9 the LORD, and his people Israel. Then Hezekiah questioned 10 with the priests and the Levites concerning the heaps. And Azariah the chief priest, of the house of Zadok, answered him and said, Since *the people* began to bring the oblations into the house of the LORD, we have eaten and had enough, and have left plenty: for the LORD hath blessed his people; and

5. *and honey*] *Honey* (Heb. *dĕbhash*) is not elsewhere mentioned as subject to tithe; perhaps *grape syrup* (modern Arabic *dibs*) is meant here, as in Gen. xliii. 11 and Ezek. xxvii. 17 (according to some commentators). Honey (like leaven) was forbidden for sacrificial use (Lev. ii. 11).

6. *And the children of Israel*] Cp. xi. 16.

the tithe of dedicated things] a strange phrase without parallel. Read probably **the dedicated things**.

7. *the third month*] The Feast of Harvest took place at the beginning of this month and seven weeks later the Feast of Ingathering followed.

10. *Azariah the chief priest*] Not mentioned in connection with Hezekiah's previous arrangements.

of the house of Zadok] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiv. 1—4. Tradition spoke of *two* main families of priests, (1) the descendants of Eleazar the third son of Aaron, whose chief representative in David's day was Zadok (hence they are here called "the house of Zadok"), (2) the descendants of Ithamar the fourth son of Aaron, represented in David's time by Ahimelech (Saul's victim) or by Abiathar (David's *protégé*). The Chronicler prefers to name the descendants of Ithamar after Ahimelech (1 Chr. xxiv. 3, where see note).

the oblations] "The Heb. word, *tĕrūmāh*, denotes properly what is 'taken off' from a larger mass and so separated from it for sacred purposes." The word is sometimes rendered *heave offering*, but this is due to a mistaken impression that a rite of elevation was involved (see the full note in Driver, *Exodus*, p. 263).

hath blessed his people] Cp. Mal. iii. 10.

that which is left is this great store. Then Hezekiah com- 11
manded to prepare chambers in the house of the LORD; and
they prepared them. And they brought in the oblations and 12
the tithes and the dedicated things faithfully: and over
them Conaniah the Levite was ruler, and Shimei his brother
was second. And Jehiel, and Azaziah, and Nahath, and 13
Asahel, and Jerimoth, and Jozabad, and Eliel, and Isma-
chiah, and Mahath, and Benaiah, were overseers under the
hand of Conaniah and Shimei his brother, by the appoint-
ment of Hezekiah the king, and Azariah the ruler of the
house of God. And Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, 14
the porter at the east *gate*, was over the freewill offerings
of God, to distribute the oblations of the LORD, and the
most holy things. And under him were Eden, and Minia- 15
min, and Jeshua, and Shemaiah, Amariah, and Shecaniah,
in the cities of the priests, in their [1]set office, to give to

[1] Or, *trust*

and that which is left is this great store] The Heb. requires some correction. Read as the LXX., καὶ κατελίπομεν ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦτο, "we leave ('have left') this great store and more."

11—13. The offerings mentioned in vv. 5—10 were placed in charge of Conaniah, Shimei and their subordinates for storage in the Temple treasuries.

11. *chambers*] Cp. 1 Chr. ix. 26, note.

12. *the dedicated things*] Cp. xxix. 33 (note on *the consecrated things*).

13. *the ruler of the house of God*] Cp. 1 Chr. ix. 11, note.

14—19. Distribution of the stores referred to in vv. 11—13 was the duty of Kore and his subordinates. The exact meaning and sequence of these verses is hard to follow, and probably the obscurity is due to faults in the Heb. text. The simplest view is as follows: ver. 15 states that the distribution was to be made to priestly and levitical persons resident in the priestly cities but (ver. 16) *not* to those who were for the time being on duty at the Temple, since these no doubt would receive their share at the Temple itself. Then vv. 17—19 seem to refer to the manner of the registration of priests and Levites respectively for the purpose of the distribution; but it must be confessed that the precise sense and connection are uncertain, particularly as regards ver. 19.

14. *the most holy things*] To this class belonged the *shewbread* (Lev. xxiv. 9), the *meal offering* (Lev. ii. 2, 3, vi. 14—18 [7—11, Heb.]), the *sin offering* (Lev. vi. 25—30), and the *trespass offering* (Lev. vii. 1—7). These could be eaten by the priests only and in the holy place only.

15. *in the cities*] The priestly cities are given 1 Chr. vi. 54—60.

their brethren by courses, as well to the great as to the
16 small: beside them that were reckoned by genealogy of
males, from three years old and upward, even every one
that entered into the house of the LORD, [1]as the duty of
every day required, for their service in their charges accord-
17 ing to their courses; and them that were reckoned by
genealogy of the priests by their fathers' houses, and the
Levites from twenty years old and upward, in their charges
18 by their courses; [2]and them that were reckoned by gene-
alogy of all their little ones, their wives, and their sons, and
their daughters, through all the congregation: for in their
19 [3]set office they sanctified themselves in holiness: also for
the sons of Aaron the priests, which were in the fields of the
suburbs of their cities, in every several city, there were men

[1] Or, *for his daily portion* [2] Or, *even* to give *to them &c.*
[3] Or, *trust*

to the great as to the small] i.e. to old and to young alike.

16. *beside*] i.e. with the exception of.

as the duty of every day required] Or, as mg., **for his daily portion.**

17. *and them that*] Render probably **and as for the registration of the priests** *it was made* **by their families....**

18. *and them that*] Render, **and the registration included all their little ones,** etc. The connection of the last part of the verse is very obscure.

their set office] Or, as mg., **their trust** (so also above ver. 15).

they sanctified themselves in holiness] Or, *they busied themselves with* the distribution of *the sanctified things*. No reliance can be placed on the soundness of the text.

19. Again a most obscure verse, apparently meaning that the priests had certain special officers, other than Kore and his subordinates, who were charged with superintending the distribution in the outlying districts. Text and interpretation are alike uncertain. Kittel regards vv. 17—19 as a late addition.

the suburbs] Cp. 1 Chr. v. 16 (mg. "pasture lands"), vi. 55, 57 [40, 42, Heb.].

CH. XXXII. 1—8 (cp. 2 Kin. xviii. 13—16). SENNACHERIB'S THREATENED INVASION. HEZEKIAH'S PRECAUTIONS.

The Chronicler introduces us somewhat abruptly to the Assyrian crisis. From 2 Kin. we learn that Hezekiah renounced the suzerainty of Assyria (xviii. 7), which his father Ahaz had acknowledged (*ibid.* xvi. 7). Thereupon Sennacherib invaded Judah, and Hezekiah was obliged to acknowledge with a heavy payment of tribute his dependence on the

that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the
males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by
genealogy among the Levites. And thus did Hezekiah 20
throughout all Judah; and he wrought that which was good
and right and [1]faithful before the LORD his God. And in 21
every work that he began in the service of the house of
God, and in the law, and in the commandments, to seek his
God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered.

After these things, and this faithfulness, Sennacherib 32
king of Assyria came, and entered into Judah, and en-
camped against the fenced cities, and thought [2]to win them
for himself. And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib 2

[1] Heb. *faithfulness.* [2] Heb. *to break them up.*

Assyrian king (*ibid.* xviii. 13—16). Sennacherib having discovered the weakness of Judah, next demanded an unconditional surrender, intending to transport the Jews to another country (*ibid.* 31, 32). This demand Hezekiah resisted, being strengthened thereto by Isaiah. The Chronicler does not refer to the earlier invasion or to the tribute—such a humiliation of the pious and devoted king being in his belief unthinkable. That any invasion should have taken place "after these things and this faithfulness" was sufficiently astonishing, until the issue showed that the anxiety and distress were only for the greater glory of Israel's God and for the further proof of Hezekiah's trust in Him.

1. *After these things, and this faithfulness*] The phrase is a *hendiadys* and stands for, "After these faithful dealings."

Sennacherib] This king (*Sanhērib* in Hebrew, *Sin-ahi-irib* [*-irba*] in Assyrian, the Σαναχάριβος of Herod. II. 141) reigned 705—681 B.C. He was the son of Sargon (Is. xx. 1), father of Esar-haddon (2 Kin. xix. 37; Ezra iv. 2), and grandfather of Asshur-bani-pal, the well-known Σαρδανάπαλλος of Herod. II. 150, who is commonly identified with Osnappar (cp. Ezra iv. 10). Under this dynasty Assyria reached the height of its power. The empire included Babylonia (which, however, was frequently in revolt), Assyria proper, Syria as far north as Cilicia (inclusive), and (under Esar-haddon and Asshur-bani-pal) Egypt. After Asshur-bani-pal's death (about 626 B.C.) the Assyrian power was speedily destroyed. The form *Sennacherib* is derived from the LXX. through the Vulgate.

to win them] Lit. *to make breaches in them.* According to 2 Kin. xviii. 13 Sennacherib took these cites; and the Assyrian account on the "Prism Inscription" of Sennacherib which is preserved in the British Museum states that they were forty-six in number (cp. Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 104—107; or Handcock, *Latest Light on Bible Lands*, pp. 153 ff.).

was come, and that [1]he was purposed to fight against Jeru-
3 salem, he took counsel with his princes and his mighty
men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without
4 the city; and they helped him. So there was gathered
much people together, and they stopped all the fountains,
and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land,
saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find
5 much water? And he took courage, and built up all the
wall that was broken down, and [2]raised *it* up to the towers,
and [3]the other wall without, and strengthened Millo *in* the

[1] Heb. *his face was to fight.* [2] Or, *heightened the towers* Or, *went up upon the towers* The Vulgate has, *built towers thereon.* [3] Or, *another*

3. *to stop the waters*] Cp. 2 Kin. xx. 20 "[Hezekiah] made the pool and the conduit and brought water into the city," and Is. xxii. 9, 11.

At the present day there is an underground tunnel cut through the rock leading from St Mary's Well down to the Lower Pool of Siloam (Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], pp. 25, 83). It is rudely constructed and owing to its windings is 586 yards long, though the distance in a straight line is only 368 yards. As therefore the Lower Pool was probably within the ancient walls, while St Mary's Well was outside, this tunnel may be Hezekiah's conduit. If the well were stopped, the besiegers would lose the water, which would collect in the Pool for the use of the besieged. An inscription in ancient Hebrew characters ("The Siloam Inscription") discovered *in situ* describes briefly the digging of the tunnel, but does not enable us to fix the date of it with certainty. For the original text and an English translation see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 95 f., or Driver, *Notes on Hebrew Text of Samuel*, viii. ff.

4. *the brook that flowed*] The Heb. verb means "flow with strong stream" (as a flood). We naturally look for such a brook either east of Jerusalem in the valley of Kidron or south in the valley of the son of Hinnom, but no perennial stream runs in either valley now. Possibly (owing to physical changes in the configuration of the country) the waters which fed such a brook in the Chronicler's day now lose themselves in the soil.

5. *broken down*] Cp. xxv. 23 (note).

raised it *up to the towers*] Heb. *vayya'al 'al.* Read **and he heightened the towers**, i.e. omitting the second *'al* as a dittography.

the other wall] In Is. xxii. 9—11 the preparations to meet the Assyrian attack are described by the prophet who speaks of a "ditch" (R.V. "reservoir") made at this time between "the two walls." In *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894—1897*, Dr Bliss describes a buttressed wall (pp. 96 ff.) built without lime (see his frontispiece for an illustration

city of David, and made weapons and shields in abundance.
And he set captains of war over the people, and gathered 6
them together to him in the broad place at the gate of the
city, and spake comfortably to them, saying, Be strong and 7
of a good courage, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king
of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for
[1]there is a greater with us than with him: with him is an 8
arm of flesh; but with us is the LORD our God to help us,
and to fight our battles. And the people rested themselves
upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.

After this did Sennacherib king of Assyria send his servants 9
to Jerusalem, (now he was before Lachish, and all his power

[1] Or, *there be more*

of it) and enclosing the pool of Siloam on the S.E., which, he says, "may date back as far as Hezekiah" (pp. 325 f.). Dr Bliss also, following up a clue given by earlier explorers, found a second wall (running at an angle to the first) enclosing the pool on the west. This second wall was probably due to Herod, but Dr Bliss suggests that the line it follows may have been defended by a wall as early as Hezekiah's day (p. 326). For further discussion see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 182, 207.

Millo] Cp. 1 Chr. xi. 8, note.

weapons and shields] Properly, *darts and shields*. These were meant, not for such trained soldiers as Hezekiah could collect, but for the levy *en masse* with which the king proposed to man the walls. A dart to throw and a shield to protect the thrower as he threw were all that the citizen-soldier needed. The Heb. word (*shelaḥ*) means "dart, missile"; the more general rendering "weapons" obscures the precise nature of Hezekiah's preparations.

6. *in the broad place at the gate*] Cp. xxix. 4; Neh. viii. 16. There is nothing here to show which of the two broad places mentioned in Nehemiah is meant, or whether some third place is intended.

8. *an arm of flesh*] Cp. Jer. xvii. 5. Contrast the frequent phrase "a mighty hand and a stretched out arm" (of Jehovah). An "arm" is an ally or helper.

with us is the LORD] Cp. xv. 2, xx. 17; Is. viii. 10.

9—19 (cp. 2 Kin. xviii. 17—35). SENNACHERIB'S THREATENING MESSAGES.

In this section Chron. briefly and freely summarises 2 Kin.

9. *his servants*] Three of these are specified in 2 Kin. by their titles, viz. the Tartan ("Commander-in-chief"), the Rabsaris (perhaps "Chief of the Princes"), and the Rabshakeh ("Chief of the officers *or* cup-bearers").

now he was before Lachish] The capture of Lachish by Sennacherib

with him,) unto Hezekiah king of Judah, and unto all Judah
10 that were at Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith Sennacherib king
of Assyria, Whereon do ye trust, that ye abide [1]the siege in
11 Jerusalem? Doth not Hezekiah persuade you, to give
you over to die by famine and by thirst, saying, The LORD
our God shall deliver us out of the hand of the king of
12 Assyria? Hath not the same Hezekiah taken away his
high places and his altars, and commanded Judah and
Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall worship before one altar, and
13 upon it shall ye burn incense? Know ye not what I and
my fathers have done unto all the peoples of the lands?
Were the gods of the nations of the lands any ways able to
14 deliver their land out of mine hand? Who was there
among all the gods of those nations which my fathers

[1] Or, *in the strong hold*

and its spoliation are shown on an Assyrian relief now in the British Museum. The king himself besieged Lachish because it was of more importance for the main object of the campaign than Jerusalem. Sennacherib's objective was Egypt (Herod. II. 141), and Lachish (*Tell el-Hesi*, Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], p. 118) lay directly in his path (cp. Handcock, *Latest Light on Bible Lands*, p. 151).

10. *in Jerusalem*] Isaiah promised deliverance in Jerusalem; e.g. in Is. xxix. 8, xxx. 19.

11. *persuade*] Or "entice"; cp. 1 Chr. xxi. 1 ("provoked" for the same Heb. word).

12. *Hath not the same Hezekiah taken away*] Besides this appeal to the religious prejudices of the people, Sennacherib's servants employed two other arguments, according to 2 Kin.—(1) the paucity of Hezekiah's soldiers (2 Kin. xviii. 23) and (2) possible reliance on Egyptian help (2 Kin. xviii. 21, 25). These two arguments are passed over by the Chronicler doubtless because they seemed inconsistent both with the power and the character of a king so God-fearing as Hezekiah.

his high places] Cp. 2 Kin. xviii. 4. The "high places" (*bāmōth*) were properly sanctuaries of Jehovah, and not necessarily idolatrous in themselves. But since originally all, or almost all, of these *bāmōth* had been sacred places of the Canaanite gods, old idolatrous symbols (e.g. the *ashērah*) and old idolatrous ideas and rites persisted in the worship there offered. When finally the Jews restricted sacrificial worship to Jerusalem, the *odium* attaching to these "high places" became greater than ever, and hostility towards them came to be regarded as the mark of any pious monarch. Hezekiah removed the *bāmōth* throughout the country.

13. *the peoples of the lands*] In 2 Kin. xviii. 34 the lands are specified and include *Samaria*.

[1]utterly destroyed, that could deliver his people out of mine hand, that your God should be able to deliver you out of mine hand? Now therefore let not Hezekiah deceive you, 15
nor persuade you on this manner, neither believe ye him: for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand of my fathers: how much less shall your [2]God deliver you out of mine hand? And his servants spake yet more against the 16
LORD God, and against his servant Hezekiah. He wrote 17
also [3]letters, to rail on the LORD, the God of Israel, and to speak against him, saying, As the gods of the nations of the lands, which have not delivered their people out of mine hand, so shall not the God of Hezekiah deliver his people out of mine hand. And they cried with a loud 18
voice in the Jews' language unto the people of Jerusalem that were on the wall, to affright them, and to trouble them; that they might take the city. And they spake of 19
the God of Jerusalem, as of the gods of the peoples of the earth, which are the work of men's hands. And Hezekiah 20
the king, and Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz, prayed because of this, and cried to heaven. And the LORD sent 21

[1] Heb. *devoted.* [2] Or, *gods* [3] Or, *a letter*

17. *to rail on*] Or, *to defy* (the same Heb. word as in 2 Kin. xix. 4, 16, 22, 23, and there rendered "reproach").

18. *in the Jews' language*] i.e. in Hebrew. From the parallel passage, 2 Kin. xviii. 26 ff., it is evident that the language of diplomacy at this time in Western Asia was Aramaic ("Syrian," 2 Kin.); and that, whilst understood by the Jewish leaders and officials, it was not yet intelligible to the common people. In the negotiations the Rabshakeh showed clearly that his object was not to treat with Hezekiah, but to excite a revolt among the Jews against Hezekiah and so gain possession of the city.

19. *the God of Jerusalem*] For this designation cp. Ps. cxxxv. 21.

20—23 (cp. 2 Kin. xix. 1—4, 14—19, 35—37). HEZEKIAH AND ISAIAH PRAY. THE DELIVERANCE.

This section is a very brief summary of 2 Kin. xix.

20. *And Hezekiah...and Isaiah...prayed*] According to Kings, Hezekiah prayed, and was answered by God through the medium of a message delivered by Isaiah the prophet (2 Kin. xix. 20—34).

heaven] Here used reverently for "God"; cp. xxviii. 9; Dan. iv. 26; Luke xv. 21.

an angel, which cut off all the mighty men of valour, and the leaders and captains, in the camp of the king of Assyria. So he returned with shame of face to his own land. And when he was come into the house of his god, they that came forth of his own bowels [1]slew him there with the
22 sword. Thus the LORD saved Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem from the hand of Sennacherib the king of Assyria, and from the hand of all *other*, and guided them
23 on every side. And many brought gifts unto the LORD to Jerusalem, and precious things to Hezekiah king of Judah: so that he was exalted in the sight of all nations from thenceforth.

24 In those days Hezekiah was sick even unto death: and he prayed unto the LORD; and he spake unto him, and

[1] Heb. *caused him to fall.*

21. *all the mighty men*] In number 185,000 according to 2 Kin. xix. 35 and Is. xxxvii. 36. The agency was probably the plague, which is pictured as a destroying angel in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.

And when he was come] The murder of Sennacherib did not occur till some 20 years after his Judean expedition (*circ.* 701 B.C.), i.e. not till 681 B.C.

they that came forth] The Chronicler no doubt follows Is. xxxvii. 38, "Adrammelech and Sharezer *his sons* smote him": but the accuracy of the present text of this passage of Isaiah is doubtful, for in the parallel passage (2 Kin. xix. 37, *Kethîb*) the words *his sons* are missing. The only notice of Sennacherib's death known to us at present from the inscriptions reads "Sennacherib king of Assyria was slain by his son (sing.) in a revolt." No name is given to this son. (Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, p. 109.)

22. *guided them on every side*] Read, as the LXX., **gave them rest on every side**; cp. xx. 30.

23. *brought gifts*] Cp. Ps. lxviii. 29; Is. xviii. 7; Hag. ii. 7, 8.

24—33 (cp. 2 Kin. xx.; Is. xxxviii., xxxix.). HEZEKIAH'S SICKNESS. THE AMBASSADORS FROM BABYLON. HEZEKIAH'S DEATH.

24. Remark that this single verse epitomises 2 Kin. xx. 1—11.

In those days] The phrase is taken over from 2 Kin. xx. 1, and it cannot be determined what date is intended, though we may conclude from 2 Kin. xx. 6 that it was a time at which the Assyrian danger was not yet past, and that it was about the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (cp. Barnes on 2 Kin. xx. 1).

he spake] The Heb. word means, in certain connections, "to promise," and the idea of "promise" is present here, the sense being "God made

gave him a [1]sign. But Hezekiah rendered not again 25
according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart
was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and
upon Judah and Jerusalem. Notwithstanding Hezekiah 26
humbled himself for [2]the pride of his heart, both he and
the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so that the wrath of the
LORD came not upon them in the days of Hezekiah. And 27
Hezekiah had exceeding much riches and honour: and he
provided him treasuries for silver, and for gold, and for
precious stones, and for spices, and for shields, and for all
manner of goodly vessels; storehouses also for the increase 28
of corn and wine and oil; and stalls for all manner of
beasts, and flocks in folds. Moreover he provided him 29
cities, and possessions of flocks and herds in abundance:
for God had given him very much substance. This same 30
Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of
Gihon, and brought them straight down on the west side

[1] Or, *wonder* [2] Heb. *the lifting up.*

him a promise and confirmed it by a wonder"; cp. 2 Kin. xx. 5, 6, 8—11.

a sign] Rather, **a wonder** (mg.), as in ver. 31.

25. *his heart was lifted up*] Cp. ver. 31; 2 Kin. xx. 12—15.

wrath] Heb. *keṣeph*, a visitation of Divine wrath; cp. xix. 2, 10, xxiv. 18, xxix. 8.

26. *humbled himself*] Cp. 2 Kin. xx. 19.

27. *riches and honour*] Cp. 2 Kin. xx. 13 (=Is. xxxix. 2).

shields] Heb. *māginnōth*, i.e. small round shields. Perhaps, like Solomon's (ix. 15, 16), they were overlaid with gold or silver. Barnes suggested the reading *migdānōth*, "precious things" (as in ver. 23), instead of *māginnōth*. LXX. ὁπλοθήκας, i.e. "armouries"; Pesh. (text being doubtful here) "shields" *or* "pearls" *or* "precious gifts."

28. *flocks in folds*] The "folds" were enclosures with high stone walls as a defence against robbers and wild beasts. The text is probably faulty; Pesh. omits the clause.

29. *cities*] The context suggests that these cities were meant chiefly as places of refuge for the flocks and herds in time of war; but again it is probable that the text is corrupt, and that this word should be omitted.

30. *stopped*] Cp. verses 3, 4.

Gihon] The upper spring of Gihon is represented to-day by *St Mary's Well*; cp. Bädeker, *Pal.*[5], pp. 25, 83, and note on ver. 3 above.

on the west side of the city] Render, **westwards to the city.** The

of the city of David. And Hezekiah prospered in all his
31 works. Howbeit in *the business of* the [1]ambassadors of the
princes of Babylon, who sent unto him to inquire of the
wonder that was done in the land, God left him, to try him,
32 that he might know all that was in his heart. Now the rest
of the acts of Hezekiah, and his good deeds, behold, they
are written in the vision of Isaiah the prophet the son of
33 Amoz, in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel. And
Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in
the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all
Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem did him honour at
his death. And Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

[1] Heb. *interpreters.*

direction followed by the tunnel through which Hezekiah brought the waters from the upper spring of Gihon (St Mary's Well outside the city) to the Pool of Siloam within the walls is roughly west or south-west; see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 102 f.

31. *who sent*] Read rather, with LXX., **who had been sent.**

to inquire of the wonder] According to 2 Kin. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1, the ostensible reason of the embassy was to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery. The real object was to gain over Judah to an alliance against Assyria, from which Babylon was constantly seeking to revolt.

to try him, that he might know, etc.] The phrase is based on Deut. viii. 2.

32. *his good deeds*] Cp. xxxv. 26 (of Josiah); Neh. xiii. 14 (of Nehemiah).

the vision of Isaiah...in the book of the kings] The reference is apparently to Is. xxxvi. 2—xxxix. 8 = 2 Kin. xviii. 17—xx. 21.

33. *in the ascent of the sepulchres of the sons of David*] What is implied by "the *ascent* of the sepulchres," the phrase being found only here? Some hold that it means a place outside the royal burying-ground, and that, since exclusion from the royal sepulchres was a mark of dishonour otherwise confined to the bodies of wicked kings (xxi. 20, xxiv. 25, xxvi. 23, xxviii. 27) the statement could hardly emanate from the Chronicler himself but must be derived from some old and presumably trustworthy source: an unsatisfactory view. Certainly the Chronicler cannot have understood the phrase to mean anything derogatory to Hezekiah, and there is, in fact, no necessity to interpret it as some place *outside* the royal sepulchres. On the contrary, it is reasonable to suppose that it means a definite part of this royal cemetery, the lower slopes ("ascent") or possibly the higher part.

did him honour] Cp. xvi. 14, xxi. 19.

Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign; 33
and he reigned fifty and five years in Jerusalem. And he 2
did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the
abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out
before the children of Israel. For he built again the high 3
places which Hezekiah his father had broken down; and
he reared up altars for the Baalim, and made Asheroth,
and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.
And he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the 4
LORD said, In Jerusalem shall my name be for ever. And 5
he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts
of the house of the LORD. He also made his children to 6
pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom:
and he practised augury, and used enchantments, and
practised sorcery, and dealt with them that had familiar
spirits, and with wizards: he wrought much evil in the

CH. XXXIII. **1—10** (cp. 2 Kin. xxi. 1—16). MANASSEH'S REIGN. HIS APOSTASY.

1. *in Jerusalem*] The Chronicler omits here the name of Manasseh's mother, *Hephzi-bah*.

3. *the Baalim*] i.e. the gods—of Canaan—*Baalim* being the plural of the word *Baal* (Lord, i.e. God). See the notes on xvii. 3, and 1 Chr. viii. 33.

Asheroth] Cp. xiv. 3 (note).

the host of heaven] See the note on xviii. 18. Cp. 2 Kin. xvii. 16; Jer. viii. 2.

4. *shall my name be for ever*] Cp. vii. 16.

5. *the two courts*] Cp. iv. 9 (note).

6. *He also made*] In the Heb. there is stress on the pronoun "He" (that wicked one!).

to pass through the fire] Cp. xxviii. 3 (note).

in the valley of the son of Hinnom] Cp. Jer. vii. 31, 32.

practised augury] The precise meaning of the Heb. word (*'ōnēn*) is quite uncertain, so that we cannot be sure what form of divination is meant. "Augury" among the Romans consisted chiefly in observing birds and interpreting the observations made, but auguries were also taken from other natural phenomena.

practised sorcery] The Heb. word (*kishshēph*) probably means "to make a magic brew with shredded herbs."

with them that had familiar spirits] The Heb. word (*ōb*) probably means a necromancer who used ventriloquism in the practice of his art. The witch of Endor (1 Sam. xxviii.) was such a person. LXX. here has [*ἐποίησεν*] *ἐνγαστριμύθους*, i.e. "he appointed ventriloquists."

7 sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger. And he set
the graven image of the idol, which he had made, in the
house of God, of which God said to David and to Solomon
his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have
chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my name
8 for ever: neither will I any more remove the foot of
Israel from off the land which I have appointed for your
fathers; if only they will observe to do all that I have
commanded them, even all the law and the statutes and
9 the ordinances by the hand of Moses. And Manasseh
made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err, so that
they did evil more than did the nations, whom the LORD
10 destroyed before the children of Israel. And the LORD
spake to Manasseh, and to his people: but they gave no

7. *the graven image of the idol*] In 2 Kin. xxi. 7, R.V. "the graven image of Asherah." For Asherah cp. xv. 16 (note).

9. *And Manasseh made Judah*, etc.] Cp. Jer. xv. 4, where the captivity itself is referred back for its cause to the evil deeds of Manasseh.

10. *the LORD spake*] i.e. by prophets; cp. 2 Kin. xxi. 10—15.

11—13 (not in 2 Kin.). THE PUNISHMENT OF MANASSEH, AND HIS REPENTANCE.

It has been urged that the tradition of Manasseh's captivity in Babylon, his restoration to the throne of Judah, and his attempt at reformation—events related only by the Chronicler—ought not to be regarded as historically true, but are simply inventions put forward as a possible explanation of the (to the Chronicler) strange fact that the wicked king Manasseh reigned for no less than fifty and five years. The objections to the tradition are not slight—in view of the general character of the Chronicler's work. In particular, the story of Manasseh's penitence might easily be an assumption to justify the fact of his long reign, and it is very difficult to correlate it with Jer. xv. 4, where the captivity of the nation is expressly declared to be due to Manasseh's wickedness. The evidence is not decisive, however; and a brief and perhaps half-hearted repentance towards the close of his reign might well be forgotten or deemed negligible. The evidence against the historicity of the tradition of the *captivity* of Manasseh is much less strong, being chiefly the silence of Kings. The facts mentioned in the following note indicate that there is nothing inherently improbable in the tradition, and it is therefore legitimate to accept it as very possibly correct, although we are not yet able to confirm it from the Assyrian records.

heed. Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains 11
of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh
[1]in chains, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to
Babylon. And when he was in distress, he besought the 12
LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the
God of his fathers. And he prayed unto him; and he was 13
intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought
him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh
knew that the LORD he was God.

Now after this he built an outer wall to the city of David, 14
on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the
entering in at the fish gate; and he compassed about

[1] Or, *with hooks*

11. *Assyria*] Manasseh is mentioned in an Assyrian list of kings tributary to Esar-haddon and Asshur-bani-pal, but no Assyrian inscription at present known speaks of his captivity. We have, however, monumental evidence that there was a great insurrection against Asshur-bani-pal, the grandson of Sennacherib, in which Western Asia (and *perhaps* Manasseh) was involved. The subsequent restoration of Manasseh to his kingdom is not incredible, for Neco I of Egypt was first put in fetters and afterwards sent back to Egypt. (Driver in Hogarth, *Authority and Archaeology*, pp. 114—116.)

in chains] Rather, **with hooks** (as mg.); cp. 2 Kin. xix. 28 (=Is. xxxvii. 29). Assyrian kings sometimes thrust a hook or ring into the nostrils of their captives and so led them about. The practice is illustrated on many Assyrian reliefs in the British Museum (see Handcock, *Latest Light on Bible Lands*, p. 159).

to Babylon] *Nineveh*, not Babylon, was the capital of Assyria, but as Asshur-bani-pal at times resided in Babylon, there is nothing improbable in any important prisoner of his being carried thither.

13. *he prayed unto him; and he was intreated of him*] It is very pleasing to notice that, for all the rigidity of the Chronicler's theology, he allows that even an heinous sinner may repent, and that, if he does so, he will meet with Divine acceptance.

14—17 (not in 2 Kin.). THE LATER DEEDS OF MANASSEH.

14. *an outer wall...fish gate*] "This can only mean that outside the existing rampart of the citadel, on the ridge above the present Virgin's Spring [i.e. St Mary's Well, see note, xxxii. 3], Manasseh constructed another line of fortification which he carried northwards past the Temple Mount, and round its northern slope," G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, I. 208. The *fish*-gate was in the northern wall, probably corresponding to the modern Damascus Gate (*ib.* I. 202).

Ophel, and raised it up a very great height: and he put
15 [1]valiant captains in all the fenced cities of Judah. And
he took away the strange gods, and the idol out of the
house of the LORD, and all the altars that he had built in
the mount of the house of the LORD, and in Jerusalem, and
16 cast them out of the city. And he [2]built up the altar
of the LORD, and offered thereon sacrifices of peace offer-
ings and of thanksgiving, and commanded Judah to serve
17 the LORD, the God of Israel. Nevertheless the people did
sacrifice still in the high places, but only unto the LORD
18 their God. Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and
his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that
spake to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel,
behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of
19 Israel. His prayer also, and how *God* was intreated of him,

[1] Or, *captains of the army.*
[2] According to another reading, *prepared.*

Ophel] Cp. xxvii. 3 (note).
15. *he took away the strange gods*] Cp. ver. 7.
16. *he built up*] or *he rebuilt*, cp. xi. 5 (note).
peace offerings] Cp. 1 Chr. xvi. 1 (note).
commanded Judah] Cp. ver. 9; 2 Kin. xxi. 11.
17. *but only*, etc.] See note on xxxii. 12.

18—20 (cp. 2 Kin. xxi. 17, 18). THE EPILOGUE TO MANASSEH'S REIGN.

18. *his prayer*] It was probably upon the ground of this remark that the so-called *Prayer of Manasses*, which in the English editions of the Apocrypha occurs just before 1 Maccabees, was composed. The "prayer" referred to by the Chronicler is quite certainly not to be associated even remotely with this apocryphal work, which by some is thought to have been written originally in Greek, though it has also been regarded as a Greek translation from some Hebrew midrashic source. Its date is uncertain. It is given in a collection of hymns appended to the Psalter in the Alexandrine MS. (A) of the LXX. (Swete's ed. vol. III. p. 824), and is also found in the Latin Vulgate, though the translation is not by Jerome. See the edition by Ryle in Charles' *Apocrypha*, vol. I.

the acts of the kings of Israel] See Introd. § 5, p. xxxii. Here, since canonical Kings contains no mention whatever of Manasseh's prayer or the words of the seers to him, we see very plainly that this source to which the Chronicler so often refers cannot be identical with the canonical books of Kings.

and all his sin and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself: behold, they are written in the history of [1]Hozai. So Manasseh slept with 20
his fathers, and they buried him in his own house: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to 21
reign; and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. And he did 22
that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh his father: and Amon sacrificed unto all the graven images which Manasseh his father had made, and served them. And he humbled not himself before the 23
LORD, as Manasseh his father had humbled himself; but this same Amon [2]trespassed more and more. And his servants 24
conspired against him, and put him to death in his own house. But the people of the land slew all them that 25
had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son king in his stead.

[1] Or, *the seers* So the Sept. [2] Or, *became guilty*

19. *in the history of Hozai*] Render, **in the history of the seers**; cp. mg. and LXX., slightly emending the Hebrew text. To take the Heb. word (*ḥōzai*) as a proper name is unsuitable, since the same word occurs as a common noun ("seers") in the preceding verse.

20. *in his own house*] i.e. as in 2 Kin. "in the garden of his own house."

21—25 (=2 Kin. xxi. 19—26). AMON'S SHORT REIGN. JOSIAH SUCCEEDS HIM.

21. *in Jerusalem*] The Chronicler omits here the name of Amon's mother; cp. ver. 1.

23. *And he humbled not himself*] This verse is not in Kings.

trespassed] Render, **became guilty** (so mg.); cp. xix. 10, xxiv. 18, xxviii. 10, 13.

25. *slew*] Render, **smote**. The Hebrew word suggests that there was a conflict between the people and the conspirators.

CH. XXXIV. **1, 2** (=2 Kin. xxii. 1, 2). JOSIAH'S GOOD REIGN.

Of Josiah only good is recorded in Kings: "he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left" (2 Kin.

34 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign; and
2 he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem. And he did
that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and walked in
the ways of David his father, and turned not aside to the
3 right hand or to the left. For in the eighth year of his

xxii. 2). In the eighteenth year of his reign he is said to have ordered a repair of the Temple in the course of which a discovery was made of a book of the Law. In consequence of its injunctions a thorough reformation was carried out by Josiah, a solemn covenant with God being entered into by the king and all the people, and attested first by a crusade against all idolatrous images and symbols throughout the land and then by a grand celebration of the Passover feast (2 Kin. xxii. 3—xxiii. 27). Obviously Josiah was a king after the Chronicler's own heart. He makes Josiah's reforming energy begin as early as his eighth year, causing some changes in the order of events (see the note on ver. 3). On the record of the Passover feast the Chronicler has naturally fastened with special pleasure, and he expands the brief allusions to it in Kings into a detailed account occupying xxxv. 1—19. His narrative of the death of Josiah differs considerably from that in Kings. Several other minor variations are pointed out in the notes below.

1. *in Jerusalem*] Here the Chronicler omits the name of Josiah's mother; cp. xxxiii. 1, 21.

2. *turned not aside*, etc.] A commendatory phrase applied to Josiah alone of the kings.

3—7 (cp. ver. 33; 2 Kin. xxiii. 4—20). JOSIAH DESTROYS THE SYMBOLS OF IDOLATRY.

3. *in the eighth year...and in the twelfth*] It should be noticed that the order of the events of Josiah's reign given in Chron. varies from that given in 2 Kin. Thus we have in 2 Chr.:

(1) Destruction of idolatrous symbols throughout Jerusalem, Judah and Israel; xxxiv. 3—7.

(2) Repair of the Temple and Finding of the Law; *ib.* 8—28.

(3) Renewal of the Covenant with Jehovah; *ib.* 29—33.

(4) Great Passover kept; xxxv. 1—19.

(5) Death of Josiah; *ib.* 20—27.

In 2 Kin. on the other hand (2) and (3) precede (1), and the reforming activity of the king is accordingly placed subsequent to the finding of the Law in the eighteenth year of his reign. There can be little doubt that the order in Kin. is correct. The Chronicler thought it desirable that the piety of the king should be displayed earlier, and he has therefore dated its commencement from the eighth and twelfth years. [This

reign, while he was yet young, he began to seek after the God of David his father: and in the twelfth year he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the Asherim, and the graven images, and the molten images. And they brake down the altars of the Baalim in his 4
presence; and the sun-images, that were on high above them, he hewed down; and the Asherim, and the graven images, and the molten images, he brake in pieces, and made dust of them, and strowed it upon the graves *of them* that had sacrificed unto them. And he burnt the bones of the 5
priests upon their altars, and purged Judah and Jerusalem. And *so did he* in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim 6

is preferable to the suggestion that "eighth" (*bishĕmōneh*) and "twelfth" (*bishtēym 'esreh*) may be due to a transcriptional error of "eighteenth" (*bishĕmōneh 'esreh*).]

while he was yet young] There is no clause corresponding to this in 2 Kin., and the statement is probably due to the motive indicated in the previous note. There is, of course, no reason to question the piety of Josiah in his early years, for though in 2 Kin. his reformation is dated in the eighteenth year of his reign, i.e. when he was 25 years of age (hardly "young" for a king), the favourable judgement passed on him (2 Kin. xxii. 2) is unqualified by any suggestion that he was tardy in turning to Jehovah, and the prophetic activity of Jeremiah is dated from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (Jer. xxv. 3).

in the twelfth year he began] The Chronicler spreads the cleansing of the land over six years, i.e. from the *twelfth* to the *eighteenth*; cp. ver. 8.

to purge] Josiah's measures are more fully enumerated and described in 2 Kin. xxiii.; notice e.g. the removal of the Asherah from the Temple (ver. 6), the destruction of the houses of the *Ḳĕdēshim* (cp. Deut. xxiii. 17, 18) which were in the house of the Lord (ver. 7), the deportation of priests from the cities of Judah into Jerusalem (vv. 8, 9), and the defiling of Topheth and of Beth-el (vv. 10, 15, 16). The Chronicler not unnaturally prefers to avoid these details and employs the usual general terms here, partly because he has already credited the penitent Manasseh with a reform of this character (xxxiii. 15), partly also because he may have been unwilling to suppose that such flagrant abuses in the Temple as are mentioned in Kings had continued to this date.

the Asherim] Cp. xiv. 3 (note).

4. *the Baalim*] Cp. xxxiii. 3 (note).

the sun-images] See note on xiv. 5; and cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 11.

5. *he burnt the bones of the priests*] Specially at Beth-el; 2 Kin. xxiii. 15, 16.

and Simeon, even unto Naphtali, [1]in their ruins round
7 about. And he brake down the altars, and beat the
Asherim and the graven images into powder, and hewed
down all the sun-images throughout all the land of Israel,
and returned to Jerusalem.
8 Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had
purged the land, and the house, he sent Shaphan the son
of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and
Joah the son of Joahaz the [2]recorder, to repair the house of
9 the LORD his God. And they came to Hilkiah the high
priest, and delivered the money that was brought into the
house of God, which the Levites, the keepers of the [3]door,

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *with their axes* The text is probably corrupt. [2] Or, *chronicler* [3] Heb. *threshold.*

6. *Simeon*] Here as in xv. 9 Simeon is regarded as belonging to the northern tribes, but its cities were in the south; cp. the note on xv. 9, and 1 Chr. iv. 28 ff.

in their ruins] Remark the mg., "*with their axes.* The text is probably corrupt." The Versions afford no real help. A plausible conjecture is given by Curtis, who would read, **he laid waste their houses.**

8—28 (= 2 Kin. xxii. 3—20). REPAIR OF THE TEMPLE. DISCOVERY OF THE BOOK OF THE LAW.

8. *Shaphan*] According to 2 Kin. he was Scribe. See 1 Chr. xviii. 16 (note).

the governor of the city] Render, **a ruler of the city**; cp. xxix. 20.

the recorder] mg. **the chronicler**; cp. 1 Chr. xviii. 15 (note). Neither Maaseiah nor Joah is mentioned in 2 Kin.

to repair the house of the LORD] It may be conjectured that the disrepair was not due solely to the abuses of Manasseh's reign, but was connected with the disaster recorded in xxxiii. 11, when an Assyrian army carried off Manasseh to Babylon. Probably the capture of the king was not achieved without the conquest of Jerusalem, and the Temple may easily have suffered serious damage at that time. Note that Kings (which does not record the disaster mentioned in Chron.) uses strong terms regarding the condition of the Temple when Josiah's work was put in hand—"to repair the *breaches* of the house," 2 Kin. xxii. 5.

9. *And they came...and delivered*] The matter is differently stated in 2 Kin. according to which they are sent to Hilkiah with a message to him to "sum," i.e. to reckon, the total of the money collected in the Temple. The Chronicler has in mind the idea which he set forth in xxiv. 6 ff.—namely, that the money was gathered by a body of Levites who went round the country collecting it.

the Levites, the keepers of the door] In 2 Kin. xii. 9 the keepers of the doors are called *priests*; cp. *ib.* xxv. 18.

had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel, and of all Judah and Benjamin, [1]and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And they 10
delivered it into the hand of the workmen that had the oversight of the house of the LORD; and [2]the workmen that wrought in the house of the LORD gave it to amend and repair the house; even to the carpenters and to the 11
builders gave they it, to buy hewn stone, and timber for couplings, and to make beams for the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed. And the men did the work 12
faithfully: and the overseers of them were Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari; and Zechariah and Meshullam, of the sons of the Kohathites, [3]to set it forward: and *other of* the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of music. Also they were over the bearers of 13
burdens, and set forward all that did the work in every

[1] Another reading is, *and they returned to Jerusalem.* [2] Or, *they gave it* to *the workmen &c.* See 2 Kings xxii. 5. [3] Or, *to preside over it*

of the hand of Manasseh, etc.] In 2 Kin. simply "of the people": i.e. Kings thinks only of the Southern Kingdom; the Chronicler includes the remnant of the northern tribes. But see also the note on xv. 9.

and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem] So one reading of the Heb. (the *Kethîb*), in agreement with the LXX. The mg. **and they returned to Jerusalem** follows the other reading (the *Kerî*).

10. *and the workmen that wrought in the house of the LORD gave it*] The "workmen" are distinguished from the "carpenters and builders" (ver. 11); overseers of some kind are meant. *To oversee the work* and *to do the work* may be synonymous phrases here as in 1 Chr. xxiii. 4 and *ibid.* ver. 24. On the other hand 2 Kin. xxii. 5 favours the rendering "And they (i.e. Shaphan, etc., and Hilkiah, vv. 8, 9) delivered it into the hand of the workmen that had the oversight...*and they* (i.e. these overseers) *gave it to the workmen* that wrought...." (Cp. the mg.)

11. *the houses*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxviii. 11.

12. *the overseers*] There is no parallel in 2 Kin. for the rest of this verse and for ver. 13. The addition is characteristic of the Chronicler, exemplifying (1) his habit of inserting proper names, (2) his interest in the Levites, particularly the musical class.

to set it forward] The same Heb. word is used in 1 Chr. xxiii. 4, and is there rendered "to oversee the work." (Cp. the mg.)

could skill] "Skill" is used as a verb also in ii. 7, 8. *Skill of instruments* = "play skilfully upon instruments."

manner of service: and of the Levites there were scribes,
14 and officers, and porters. And when they brought out
the money that was brought into the house of the LORD,
Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of the LORD
15 [1]given by Moses. And Hilkiah answered and said to
Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in
the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the book
16 to Shaphan. And Shaphan carried the book to the king,
and moreover brought the king word again, saying, All
17 that was committed to thy servants, they do it. And they
have [2]emptied out the money that was found in the house
of the LORD, and have delivered it into the hand of the
18 overseers, and into the hand of the workmen. And Sha-
phan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest
hath delivered me a book. And Shaphan read therein
19 before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had
20 heard the words of the law, that he rent his clothes. And
the king commanded Hilkiah, and Ahikam the son of
Shaphan, and [3]Abdon the son of Micah, and Shaphan
21 the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, saying, Go ye,
inquire of the LORD for me, and for them that are left
in Israel and in Judah, concerning the words of the book

[1] Heb. *by the hand of.* [2] Or, *poured out* [3] In 2 Kings xxii. 12, *Achbor the son of Micaiah.*

14. This verse has no parallel in 2 Kin.

the book of the law] See the Additional Note at the end of the chapter, pp. 337 ff.

15. *answered and said*] For the use of "answer" where no question had been asked cp. xxix. 31, note.

18. *And Shaphan read therein*] Contrast 2 Kin., "And Shaphan read it," implying that he read the whole book, which of course was a simple matter, if it consisted of the nucleus of Deuteronomy (see note, ver. 14). The Chronicler, however, believing the book to have been the whole Pentateuch, could not suppose that the *whole* was read to the king, and accordingly he writes *therein* in place of *it*.

19. *rent his clothes*] A sign of grief. "Clothes" is in the plur. because both inner and outer garments are meant. See Ezra ix. 3 (with Ryle's note).

20. *Ahikam the son of Shaphan*] Cp. Jer. xxvi. 24, xl. 5.

Abdon the son of Micah] In 2 Kin. "Achbor the son of Micaiah."

21. *for them that are left in Israel*] Not in 2 Kin. The Chronicler likes to mention the remnants of the northern tribes, as in vv. 6, 9.

that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the word of the LORD, to do according unto all that is written in this book. So Hilkiah, and they whom the king *had commanded*, went to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of [1]Tokhath, the son of [2]Hasrah, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the [3]second quarter;) and they spake to her to that effect. And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Tell ye the man that sent you unto me, Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curses that are written in the book which they have read before the king of Judah: because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense unto other gods, that they might provoke me to

21 22 23 24 25

[1] In 2 Kings xxii. 14, *Tikvah*. [2] In 2 Kings xxii. 14, *Harhas*.
[3] Heb. *Mishneh*.

that is poured out upon us] In 2 Kin. "that is kindled against us," so LXX. ἐκκέκαυται. Cp. ver. 25.

22. had commanded] These words, which are obviously required, are not in the Heb.: the verb *āmar* has fallen out of the text by some accident.

the prophetess] This title is given to Miriam (Ex. xv. 20), Deborah (Judg. iv. 4), Anna (Luke ii. 36); cp. also Neh. vi. 14; Rev. ii. 20.

Tokhath] In 2 Kin. *Tikvah*.

Hasrah] In 2 Kin. *Harhas*.

keeper of the wardrobe] Lit. "keeper of the garments." The Heb. word for garments (*bĕgādim*) is applied to a king's robes (xviii. 29), to a high-priest's vestments (Ex. xxviii. 2, 4), and to clothes in general; it is therefore not easy to say what office precisely is here referred to. Perhaps the garments here meant were ecclesiastical and not royal. There is ample evidence that ancient temples possessed a store of ceremonial garments for the use not only of the worshippers but also of the images, cp. 2 Kin. x. 22, and generally the *Ency. Brit.*[11] s.v. *costume*, pp. 230 *a*, 231 *b*. As early as the VIth dynasty an Egyptian priest is mentioned as "master of the wardrobe."

in the second quarter] Or, *in the second division*. Cp. Zeph. i. 10. The physical configuration of ancient Jerusalem was such that it might naturally be regarded as divided into two districts, the eastern and western, with the valley of the Tyropœon between. Cp. Neh. iii. 9, 12, and also Neh. xi. 9 (with Ryle's note on *second over the city*, which should probably be rendered *over the second part of the city*).

24. *all the curses*] Deut. xxvii. 15—26, xxviii. 15—68.

anger with all the works of their hands; therefore is my wrath poured out upon this place, and it shall not be
26 quenched. But unto the king of Judah, who sent you to inquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: As touching the words which thou
27 hast heard, because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when thou heardest his words against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, and hast humbled thyself before me, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I also have heard thee, saith the
28 LORD. Behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof. And they brought the king word again.
29 Then the king sent and gathered together all the elders
30 of Judah and Jerusalem. And the king went up to the

26. *As touching the words which thou hast heard, because thine heart*] Read perhaps, **Inasmuch as thou hast heard my words, and thine heart.** There is some slight flaw in the Heb. text.

28. *thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace*] So also in 2 Kin. But in point of fact Josiah met with a violent death, being slain by Neco, king of Egypt, according both to Kings (2 Kin. xxiii. 29) and Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxv. 23 f.). From the contradiction between this prediction and the event, we may infer that in the prophecy of Huldah we have an old and reliable tradition, which obviously must have been made before the death of Josiah. That the contradiction was allowed to stand in Kings is not perhaps surprising, but it is remarkable in the Chronicler's narrative. Not only does the idea of a genuine prophecy failing to come true run counter to his fixed principles, but (judging from many definite instances as well as from the whole tone of his history) the tradition that a king so pious from the start to the finish of his reign should meet his death in a disastrous battle must have seemed to him well-nigh incredible. The fact remains that he *has* allowed the tradition to stand, but it is certainly surprising.

neither shall thine eyes see] Cp. the similar promise made to Ahab (1 Kin. xxi. 29).

29—33 (=2 Kin. xxiii. 1—3). THE RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT WITH JEHOVAH.

This renewal of the covenant should be compared with the passage describing Hezekiah's great service of atonement for the breach of the covenant (xxix. 20 ff.).

house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests, and the Levites, and all the people, both great and small: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant that was found in the house of the LORD. And the king 31 stood in his place, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant that were written in this book. And he caused 32 all that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand *to it*. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God, the God of their fathers. And Josiah 33 took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were found in Israel to serve, even to serve the LORD their God. All his days they departed not from following the LORD, the God of their fathers.

30. *the Levites*] In 2 Kin. "the prophets."

31. *to walk after the LORD*] Cp. Deut. x. 12, 13.

33. *And Josiah took away*] Cp. vv. 3—7.

all that were found in Israel] i.e. the remnant of the northern tribes, cp. ver. 21.

All his days] Contrast the evil record of his son Jehoiakim, xxxvi. 5—8.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VER. 14.

Hilkiah the priest found the book of the law of the LORD] This remarkable statement has proved to be a fruitful subject of discussion. What precisely is meant by "the book of the law" said to have been found by Hilkiah in the Temple? It is essential to distinguish between the answer which the Chronicler would have given to this question and the conclusions reached by an independent survey of the problem. (1) Undoubtedly the Chronicler supposed "the book of the law" to be the whole Pentateuch, since he believed that the entire Law existed as it now is from the time of Moses. The argument against his view is obvious to us at the present time. Beside the practical objection of the impossibility of reading the whole Pentateuchal Law twice in succession to different persons on the same day (2 Kin. xxii. 8, 10)—a difficulty which perhaps the Chronicler himself perceived and sought to avoid, see note on ver. 18,—there is the overwhelming testimony of the general evidence that a large part of the Pentateuch *in its final*

form, with which the Chronicler was familiar, is of post-exilic date. *His* Pentateuch was quite certainly not "the book" found by Hilkiah. (2) It is extremely interesting to observe that the first step towards the judgement of modern criticism was taken at a very early date and by certain of the Christian Fathers—Jerome, Procopius of Gaza, Chrysostom—who put forward the view that the book in question was not the whole Pentateuch but only the Book of Deuteronomy. [For the details the student must be referred to articles in the *Zeitschrift fur alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1902, pp. 170 f., 312 f., and the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1903, p. 50.] This view, first developed scientifically by De Wette, gained eventually a very wide acceptance amongst scholars. Stress is laid upon the resemblance between the reforms ascribed to Josiah and the exhortations and injunctions of Deuteronomy, particularly as regards the restriction of sacrificial worship to one sanctuary (i.e. Jerusalem; cp. Deut. xii. 10—14). For the evidence the student may consult Chapman, *Introd. to the Pentateuch*, pp. 135—146, esp. pp. 142—145 (in this series); or Driver, *Deuteronomy* (International Critical Commentaries), pp. xliv ff. (3) Further, internal consideration of the Book of Deuteronomy has led to the conclusion that it cannot all date from the time of Josiah: and thus it is now generally held that Hilkiah's "book of the law" was not the final form of Deuteronomy, but only the *nucleus* of that Book—probably chs. v.—xxvi. and xxviii., or xii.—xxvi. and xxviii., or even certain passages from those chapters (see Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 145; or Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. lxv ff.). (4) Finally, there are grounds for doubting whether any part of Deuteronomy can be dated from the time of Josiah. It is suggested that the Deuteronomic code is not earlier than Jeremiah but later. Although this view does not yet command general acceptance, it is fair to insist that it rests upon evidence which cannot be so lightly set aside as is occasionally supposed. The student may conveniently refer to remarks by R. H. Kennett in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII., s.v. *Israel*, p. 447, and to the references there given, esp. the *Journal of Theological Studies*, VII. [1906], pp. 481 ff. If Deuteronomy be later than the time of Josiah, what then can we suppose this "book of the law" (*sēpher hattōrah*) to have been; for there is no reason to question the accuracy of the tradition that some impressive writing was discovered in the Temple? The answer will be—in all probability—some scroll of prophetic teaching, in which the abuses of worship (perhaps in Manasseh's reign) and in particular the corruptions of the country "high places" were searchingly denounced and an appeal made for reform. Since at that date the term *tōrah* was applicable to prophetic teaching as well as to legal instruction, such a work would be known as "a book of *tōrah*." It is not a very serious objection that the text here and in Kings reads "the book of the law (*hattōrah*)," partly because a peculiarity of Hebrew grammar would still allow the translation "a book of *tōrah*," partly because the introduction of the definite article into the text would be most natural, so soon as it came to be thought that the phrase referred to Deuteronomy or the Pentateuch. We may summarise as follows:—

And Josiah kept a passover unto the LORD in Jeru- 35
salem: and they killed the passover on the fourteenth *day*
of the first month. And he set the priests in their charges, 2
and encouraged them to the service of the house of the
LORD. And he said unto the Levites that taught all Israel, 3
which were holy unto the LORD, Put the holy ark in the
house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did
build; there shall no more be a burden upon your shoulders:
now serve the LORD your God, and his people Israel. And 4
prepare yourselves after your fathers' houses by your courses,
according to the writing of David king of Israel, and
according to the writing of Solomon his son. And stand in 5
the holy place according to the divisions of the fathers'

To the Chronicler "the book of the law" signified the whole Pentateuch in its final form; to the compilers or editors of Kings (the Chronicler's *source*), who probably wrote at the "Deuteronomic" stage of the history, it no doubt meant Deuteronomy; and lastly, according to modern judgement the book actually discovered was either the earliest or essential portions of Deuteronomy or possibly a pre-Deuteronomic prophetic writing demanding the purification of worship in Jerusalem and urging the abolition of the sacrifices and feasts at the local shrines.

CH. XXXV. **1—19** (= 1 Esdras i. 1—22; cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 21—23).
JOSIAH'S PASSOVER.

Regarding the reference to 1 Esdras i. in the heading above, see the Introd. § 10, s.v. *Greek Versions*, where the important fact is noted that in 1 Esdras we have an *old* LXX. text, earlier than the so-called LXX. of Chron., and representing a Hebrew text older than the present Masoretic form. For introduction and notes on the text of 1 Esdras see the edition by S. A. Cook in Charles' *Apocrypha*, vol. 1.

1. *the first month*] The legal month was *Nisan*, or as it was called in pre-exilic times *Abib*; cp. Ex. xii. Cp. also xxx. 2 (with note).

2. *in their charges*] i.e. at their duties.

encouraged them] As Hezekiah had done; cp. xxix. 5—11, xxx. 22.

3. *that taught all Israel*] Cp. Neh. viii. 7, 9.

Put the holy ark in the house] This rather curious remark seems to imply that the ark had been removed from the Temple either by Manasseh or by Josiah during the repairing of the house. The Levites are bidden to set it in its place without delay, and to devote themselves to the tasks related in vv. 4 ff.

4. *the writing of David*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 27, xxviii. 19—21.

houses of your brethren the children of the people, [1]and *let there be for each* a portion of a fathers' house of the Levites.
6 And kill the passover, and sanctify yourselves, and prepare for your brethren, to do according to the word of the LORD
7 by the hand of Moses. And Josiah [2]gave to the children of the people, of the flock, lambs and kids, all of them for the passover offerings, unto all that were present, to the number of thirty thousand, and three thousand
8 bullocks: these were of the king's substance. And his princes gave [3]for a freewill offering unto the people, to the priests, and to the Levites. Hilkiah and Zechariah and Jehiel, the rulers of the house of God, gave unto the priests for the passover offerings two thousand and six hundred *small cattle*,
9 and three hundred oxen. Conaniah also, and Shemaiah and Nethanel, his brethren, and Hashabiah and Jeiel and Jozabad, the chiefs of the Levites, gave unto the Levites for the passover offerings five thousand *small cattle*, and
10 five hundred oxen. So the service was prepared, and the priests stood in their place, and the Levites by their courses,
11 according to the king's commandment. And they killed the

[1] Or, *and* according to *the distribution of each fathers' house*
[2] Or, *gave for offerings* and so in verses 8, 9. See ch. xxx. 24.
[3] Or, *willingly*

5. *the children of the people*] i.e. the laity. The same phrase is translated in 2 Kin. xxiii. 6 "the common people" (without any invidious meaning).

let there be for each *a portion...of the Levites*] Each great division of the laity was to be served by a small division of the Levites.

6. *prepare for your brethren*] Cp. vv. 12, 13.

7. *gave*] mg. *gave for offerings*; cp. xxx. 24, where it is said that Hezekiah did the same at his great Passover.

8. *for a freewill offering*] Better, as A.V. and mg., **willingly**.

Jehiel] 1 Esdras (Ἰούηλος) suggests a different name, probably *Haziel*.

rulers of the house of God] Cp. 1 Chr. ix. 11, note.

9. *Conaniah...and Shemaiah*] Cp. the "Conaniah and Shimei his brother" of xxxi. 12, and for *Jozabad* cp. the "Jozabad" of xxxi. 13. Different persons, however, must surely be meant, or perhaps the names represent families rather than individuals; nearly sixty years separate the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah.

10—13. The variations in 1 Esdras i. 10—12 are misunderstandings of the Heb.; see Cook, *ad loc.*

passover, and the priests sprinkled *the blood, which they received* of their hand, and the Levites flayed them. And 12
they removed the burnt offerings, that they might give them according to the divisions of the fathers' houses of the children of the people, to offer unto the LORD, as it is written in the book of Moses. And so did they with the oxen. And they roasted the passover with fire according to 13
the ordinance: and the holy offerings sod they in pots, and in caldrons, and in pans, and carried them quickly to all the children of the people. And afterward they prepared for 14
themselves, and for the priests; because the priests the sons of Aaron *were busied* in offering the burnt offerings and the fat until night: therefore the Levites prepared for themselves, and for the priests the sons of Aaron. And the 15
singers the sons of Asaph were in their place, according to the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun the king's seer; and the porters were at every gate: they needed not to depart from their service, for their brethren the Levites prepared for them. So all the 16
service of the LORD was prepared the same day, to keep the passover, and to offer burnt offerings upon the altar of the LORD, according to the commandment of king Josiah. And the children of Israel that were present kept the pass- 17
over at that time, and the feast of unleavened bread seven

11. *sprinkled*] Cp. xxix. 22, note.
the Levites flayed] Cp. xxix. 34.
13. *the ordinance*] Ex. xii. 9.
and the holy offerings] The bullocks mentioned in vv. 7, 8, 9. Possibly these were slain not on the Passover day itself, but on the days which immediately followed. The practice of later times, however, seems to have admitted the sacrifice of oxen as a thank offering along with the Passover lambs (see Mishnah, *Pesachim*, vi. 3, 4); and it is possible that in the Chronicler's time oxen were thus killed and eaten on the Passover day, although they were, as this verse indicates, prepared differently from the Passover lambs.
14. *the fat*] Cp. vii. 7, note; xxix. 35.
15. *the singers*] Cp. 1 Chr. xxv. 1 ff.
Heman] But 1 Esdras has *Zacharias*, a reading which finds some support in 1 Chr. xv. 18, xvi. 5.
16. *the same day*] Lit. "on that day," i.e. the fourteenth of Nisan.

18 days. And there was no passover like to that kept in Israel
from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did any of
the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and
the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that
19 were present, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. In the
eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover
kept.

18. *there was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel*] The statement is simply a reproduction of 2 Kin. xxiii. 22, where we read "there was not kept such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel...but in the eighteenth year of king Josiah was this passover kept to the LORD in Jerusalem." Actually the novelty of Josiah's festival was (i) that it was kept *in Jerusalem*, whereas previously the Passover had been a household feast observed at any "high-place" throughout the country, and (ii) that it thus marked the inauguration of the system of only one legitimate sanctuary—Jerusalem —which was codified in Deuteronomy. The writer in Kings may have clearly understood that the point lay in the words "in Jerusalem." To the Chronicler, the statement meant merely an assertion that this feast was the *grandest* Passover since the days of the judges (he prefers to write *since Samuel*, reckoning him the last of the judges).

A similar but not identical remark regarding Hezekiah's Passover is made in xxx. 26—"since the time of Solomon there was not the like in Jerusalem." In some points Hezekiah's feast as described in xxx. 1 ff. may be said to have surpassed Josiah's, but it is most unnecessary and indeed pedantic so to magnify this fact as to insist that the sweeping assertion of the present verse about Josiah's Passover cannot be from the same source as xxx. 1—26. Both passages may well be from the Chronicler (so Curtis, p. 471); in xxx. 1 ff. he was writing a free description of Hezekiah's feast, and the verse (xxx. 26) quoted above was written by him to impress us duly with its magnificence; in the present verse he was naturally reproducing his source in Kings, and it is most unlikely that he would notice any slight inconsistency with xxx. 26, or that, if he did, he would have been troubled thereby.

from the days of Samuel] In 2 Kin. xxiii. 22 "from the days of the judges."

19. *In the eighteenth year*] Comparison of the later Greek version (the so-called LXX.) of this verse with the earlier Greek version (the *old* LXX.) preserved in 1 Esdras reveals that this passage is one of great interest for the history of the text. After ver. 19 "In the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah was this passover kept," 1 Esdras i. 23, 24 has a remarkable addition as follows: "And the works of Josias were upright before his LORD with a heart full of godliness. Moreover the things that came to pass in his days [or 'the things concerning him'] have been written in times past concerning...those that sinned and did wickedly

against the LORD above every people and kingdom, and how they grieved him exceedingly, so that the words of the LORD were confirmed against Israel." Then follows ver. 25 (cp. Heb. ver. 20) "Now after all these acts of Josias it came to pass that Pharaoh, king of Egypt," etc. Probably some words have been lost at the point where the dots are placed. As it stands, the passage *seems* to associate the reign of the godly Josiah with wicked and irreligious doings. The inference to be drawn is that this passage was originally part of the Hebrew text (from which the old LXX. was translated), but was subsequently excised on account of its apparent aspersion on the character of Josiah. The gap thus created was filled in some Heb. MSS. by the insertion of 2 Kin. xxiii. 24—27, and from such a Heb. text the later Greek version (the present LXX.) was made. In other Heb. MSS., however, the gap was left unfilled, and from one of these was derived the Heb. text which has reached us (see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, pp. 87—89). It is only by the use of the Greek versions that we are now able to perceive that an omission has been made.

20—24 (= 1 Esd. i. 25—31; cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 29, 30*a*).
THE DEATH OF JOSIAH.

The account of Josiah's death is very much fuller in Chron. than in Kings. The features which are peculiar to the Chronicler are, (1) Neco's message to dissuade Josiah from war, (2) Josiah's disguising himself and coming to fight *in the valley of Megiddo*, (3) the wounding of Josiah by archers, (4) the transfer of the wounded king from a war chariot to another chariot. Thus all the details which represent the meeting at Megiddo as a battle are peculiar to Chron.

The account given in Kings is simply:—"King Josiah *went to meet* him (Neco), and he put him to death *at Megiddo* when he saw him. And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem." The Hebrew expression for "went to meet" in this passage is the same as in 1 Kin. xviii. 16; 2 Kin. xvi. 10; it does not suggest a *hostile* meeting, though it can be used in a suitable context to describe one. The phrase "when he saw him" suggests an interview rather than a battle. Thus we have two versions of Josiah's death: according to Chron. he was mortally wounded in battle, according to Kings he sought an interview with Neco and was assassinated by him at the town of Megiddo.

These differences may be due to two distinct traditions, but it seems more probable that the Chronicler's account is an intentional adaptation of the Kings narrative to suit the main principles of his work. We can easily realise that the bald fact of Josiah's death at the hands of Neco presented a distressing moral perplexity to the Chronicler's mind. Why, when Josiah had been so diligent in the service of his God, did Jehovah abandon him to death in this fashion? The stress of the problem is reflected in the rather pathetic phrase of ver. 20, "After *all* this...came Neco." The same words are used of Hezekiah (xxxii. 1),

20 After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple,
Neco king of Egypt went up to fight against Carchemish by
21 Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him. But he sent
ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee,
thou king of Judah? *I come* not against thee this day, but
against the house wherewith I have war; and God [1]hath
commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from *meddling*

[1] Or, *hath given command to speed me*

"After these things and this faithfulness, Sennacherib came...," but in his case the sore trial of faith proved to be for the greater glory of the God of Israel. Here the plea of a successful issue to the trouble was not available, and no doubt the story of Josiah's end was too famous to be passed over in silence. It would seem as if the Chronicler therefore adapted the narrative so as to make it appear that Josiah made an attack on Neco in defiance of a Divine warning (ver. 21), and thus deserved his fate. The somewhat similar tale of Ahab's death (xviii. 28—34 = 1 Kin. xxii. 29—37) was in the Chronicler's mind, and he appears to have drawn upon it for certain details introduced into his version of Josiah's end (see vv. 22, 23).

20. *Neco*] This was Neco II who reigned 610—594 B.C. (Flinders Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III. 335). According to Herodotus (II. 159) he conquered the "Syrians" at "Magdolus," and then captured Cadytis (Kadesh on the Orontes, *or* Gaza?), an important city of Syria. Herodotus no doubt refers to the same great campaign of Neco which is recorded in Kings and Chron., though it is not at all likely that the victory over the *Syrians* at *Magdolus* is to be identified with the encounter of Neco and Josiah at Megiddo. The account of Herodotus is obscure, ambiguous, and defective, but a comparison of 2 Kings with an inscription of Nabu-na'id king of Babylon (555—538 B.C.) sets Neco's action in a clearer light. The campaign (which took place about 608 B.C.) was directed "against the king of Assyria" (2 Kin. xxiii. 29), i.e. against the last king Sin-šariškun (Saracos) who was at war with Nabopolassar (father of Nebuchadrezzar), king of Babylon. Nabopolassar, hard pressed, called in to his help the Umman-manda (Scythians), who destroyed Nineveh *circ.* 607 B.C.; cp. Messerschmidt, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabu-na'id's* (pp. 5—13). Neco advanced to the Euphrates to secure some of the spoils of the Assyrian overthrow, but the crushing victory of Nebuchadrezzar over Neco at Carchemish (*circ.* 605 B.C.) finally excluded Egypt from any share.

against Carchemish] Cp. Jer. xlvi. 2. It was a city situated near the junction of the Habor and Euphrates. In 2 Kin., "against the king of Assyria."

21. *against the house wherewith I have war*] In 1 Esd. i. 27 there is a different reading, "my war is upon Euphrates."

with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Never- 22
theless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised
himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto
the words of Neco, from the mouth of God, and came to fight
in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king 23
Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away;
for I am sore wounded. So his servants took him out 24
of the chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he
had, and brought him to Jerusalem; and he died, and was
buried in the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah
and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented 25
for Josiah: and all the singing men and singing women spake
of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they
made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are

22. *disguised himself*] Like Ahab at Ramoth-gilead (xviii. 29), to reduce the risk. The LXX. reads *ἐκραταιώθη*, "was strengthened." The Heb. text is probably correct (see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 221).

the valley of Megiddo] Cp. Judg. v. 19; Zech. xii. 11. In 1 Esd. i. 29, "the *plain* of Megiddo." The whole (or perhaps only the western part) of the plain of Esdraelon is meant; cp. 1 Chr. x. 7, note.

23. *the archers shot*] Cp. the death of Ahab, xviii. 33. 1 Esd. i. 29, "the princes came down against king Josias," is an inferior reading due probably to a misreading of the Heb.

for I am sore wounded] The very words ascribed to Ahab (xviii. 33), and further the verb rendered *I am wounded* is used only in these two passages: a singularly strong witness to the view that the present story has been influenced by that of Ahab's death.

24. *the second chariot*] War chariots were small, with (apparently) only standing room for their occupants; see the illustrations of Egyptian and Assyrian chariots given in the *Ency. Bib.* I. 724—730. This "second chariot" was probably of a larger kind, suitable for travelling.

25 (=1 Esd. i. 32; not in 2 Kin.). THE LAMENTATIONS FOR JOSIAH.

25. *lamented*] i.e. "composed (*or* uttered) an elegy." The Heb. word (*qōnēn*) suggests formal composition, and the actual words of lamentation are often given, as in 2 Sam. i. 17 ff., iii. 33, 34; Ezek. xxvii. 32, xxxii. 2, 16. The elegy in question is not preserved in the book of Jeremiah or elsewhere. Doubtless the Chronicler or his source had real grounds for his statement about the popular Songs of Lament for Josiah, and we may suppose that one of these, rightly or wrongly, was ascribed to Jeremiah.

an ordinance] Cp. 2 Sam. i. 18.

26 written in the lamentations. Now the rest of the acts of
Josiah, and his good deeds, according to that which is
27 written in the law of the LORD, and his acts, first and last,
behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel
and Judah.

36 Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of
Josiah, and made him king in his father's stead in Jeru-
2 salem. Joahaz was twenty and three years old when he
began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.
3 And the king of Egypt deposed him at Jerusalem, and
amerced the land in an hundred talents of silver and a talent
4 of gold. And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother

in the lamentations] In some lost work, not in our canonical book of the Lamentations, for the contents of the canonical book lend no support whatever to the view that it is referred to here (see further *Ency. Brit.*[11], s.v. *Lamentations*, p. 128).

26, 27 (=1 Esd. i. 33; 2 Kin. xxiii. 25, 28). THE EPILOGUE TO JOSIAH'S REIGN.

26. *according to that which is written*] Cp. the strong terms used in 2 Kin. xxiii. 25, "like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart...according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him."

CH. XXXVI. **1—4** (=1 Esd. i. 34—38; 2 Kin. xxiii. 30*b*—34). THE REIGN OF JEHOAHAZ.

1. *the people of the land took*] Cp. xxvi. 1, xxxiii. 25.

Jehoahaz] Called "Shallum" in 1 Chr. iii. 15; Jer. xxii. 11. He was younger than Jehoiakim; ver. 5.

2. *in Jerusalem*] His mother's name is here omitted; cp. xxxiii. 1, 21, xxxiv. 1. According to 2 Kin. xxiii. 32 (cp. Ezek. xix. 3, 4) Jehoahaz "did evil."

3. *deposed him at Jerusalem*] The clause answers to 2 Kin. xxiii. 33, "put him in bands at Riblah in the land of Hamath, that he might not reign in Jerusalem." Perhaps we should read the same words in Chron. The Heb. words for "deposed" and "put in bands" are liable to be easily confused.

amerced] A.V. *condemned*. For "amerce" in the sense of "fine," cp. Deut. xxii. 19; and for "condemn" in the same sense see Amos ii. 8 (A.V., "fined" R.V.).

an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold] The land was poorer than in the days when Sennacherib had imposed a fine on Hezekiah of "three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold" (2 Kin. xviii. 14).

king over Judah and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoiakim. And Neco took Joahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt.

Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began 5
to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, 6

4. *changed his name to Jehoiakim*] This name is compounded with the Divine name Jehovah. Probably Neco made the new king swear fealty *by Jehovah*, and then declared his official name to be Jehoiakim, in order that he and his people might have something to remind them of the oath he had taken. (*Eliakim* = "God establishes"; Jehoiakim = "*Jehovah* establishes.") The rendering of this verse in 1 Esd. i. 38 is due to misreadings of the Heb.

took Joahaz...to Egypt] He died in Egypt; 2 Kin. xxiii. 34; Jer. xxii. 12.

5—8 (= 1 Esd. i. 39—42; 2 Kin. xxiii. 36—xxiv. 6). THE REIGN OF JEHOIAKIM.

5. *and he reigned eleven years*] So also in Kings. The statement, however, is lacking in 1 Esdras i. 39, so that it is a highly probable inference that the text of Chron. has here been harmonised with Kings; cp. ver. 15, and Introd. § 3, p. xxii.

in Jerusalem] The Chronicler omits his mother's name (cp. ver. 2, note) and also the statement that he raised the indemnity imposed by Neco by means of a poll-tax (2 Kin. xxiii. 35).

he did that which was evil] Cp. 2 Kin. xxiii. 37; Jer. xxii. 13—18, xxvi. 20—23, xxxvi. 1—32.

6. *Nebuchadnezzar*] The correct form of his name is "Nebuchadrezzar" (so generally in Jeremiah and Ezekiel); in the inscriptions Nabu-kudurri-uṣur. The name is Assyrian and means "O Nebo, defend the crown" (or "the boundary"), Nebo being a god who was regarded as the son of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon (cp. Is. xlvi. 1). Nebuchadrezzar reigned from 604—561 B.C., and was succeeded by Evil-Merodach (Amil-Marduk). The only purely historical inscription relating to his reign deals with a campaign in Egypt in 568 B.C.; cp. Jer. xliii. 11.

came up] It seems probable that Nebuchadrezzar did not *in person* come up against Jerusalem *at the end of Jehoiakim's reign*, nor in person carry off any of the sacred vessels; it is likely moreover that Jehoiakim was not carried to Babylon. The result of Jehoiakim's rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar was according to 2 Kin. simply that "bands" of Chaldeans and their allies invaded Judah. Probably Jehoiakim's life and reign came to an end (*how* we do not know; cp. Jer. xxii. 18, 19) during this petty warfare, and then three months

7 and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the LORD to Babylon, and put them in his [1]temple at Babylon.
8 Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and that which was found [2]in him, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah: and [3]Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead.
9 Jehoiachin was [4]eight years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem:

[1] Or, *palace* [2] Or, *against* [3] In 1 Chr. iii. 16, *Jeconiah*. In Jer. xxii. 24, *Coniah*. [4] In 2 Kings xxiv. 8, *eighteen*.

later, the main Chaldean army under Nebuchadrezzar having arrived, Jerusalem was taken, and Jehoiakim's son and successor Jehoiachin was carried off with the golden vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon. The Chronicler seems to foreshorten the history at this point.

7. *of the vessels*] There is no mention in 2 Kin. of the removal of sacred vessels during Jehoiakim's reign. Some were carried off under Jehoiachin, the rest under Zedekiah; 2 Kin. xxiv. 13, xxv. 13—17. Cp. last note.

in his temple] So LXX.; 1 Esd. i. 39 [41]; Dan. i. 2. Note the mg., "in his palace." The Heb. word (*heykāl*) is a loan-word; the original (*ikallu*) is the ordinary word in Assyrio-Babylonian for "palace."

8. *that which was found in him*] i.e. his sin (in this context); cp. 1 Kin. xiv. 13.

of Israel and Judah] The LXX. (but not 1 Esdras) adds here "And Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of Uzza with his fathers."

9, 10 (= 1 Esd. i. 43—45; cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 8—17). THE REIGN OF JEHOIACHIN.

The account given in 2 Kin. contains much that is not given in Chron. and, in particular, many details of the first captivity of Judah.

9. *Jehoiachin*] Called "Jeconiah," 1 Chr. iii. 16, where see note.

eight years] So LXX. (B) of Chron. and Esd. (B); but the number is probably corrupt for *eighteen*, so LXX. (A) of Chron. and Esd. (A) and Heb. and LXX. of 2 Kin. xxiv. 8. It is possible that the words "and ten days" in the latter part of the verse are a misplaced fragment of an original *ben shĕmōneh 'esreh shānāh*, i.e. "eighteen years old."

in Jerusalem] The Chronicler here omits the king's mother's name (cp. ver. 2, note), though she was a person of some influence; cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 12; Jer. xxii. 24—26; and perhaps *ibid.* xiii. 18 (R.V.).

and he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD.
And at the return of the year king Nebuchadnezzar sent, 10
and brought him to Babylon, with the goodly vessels of the
house of the LORD, and made Zedekiah his brother king over
Judah and Jerusalem.

Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began 11
to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and 12
he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD his
God; he humbled not himself before Jeremiah the prophet
speaking from the mouth of the LORD. And he also re- 13
belled against king Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him
swear by God: but he stiffened his neck, and [1]hardened
his heart from turning unto the LORD, the God of Israel.

[1] Heb. *strengthened.*

he did that which was evil] Cp. Jer. xxii. 24; Ezek. xix. 5—9.

10. *at the return of the year*] Cp. 2 Sam. xi. 1 = 1 Chr. xx. 1, "at the return of the year, at the time when kings go out to battle." This would be in the spring.

brought him to Babylon] Not the king only, but also certain leading men and craftsmen and smiths (in number 3023) went into captivity—so Jer. lii. 28; cp. Jer. xxiv. 1, and 2 Kin. xxiv. 14 (where the size of the deportation is magnified into "all Jerusalem save the poorest of the land—even ten thousand captives").

Zedekiah] A covenant-name like "Jehoiakim" (ver. 4, note); it seems to mean "Righteousness of Jehovah"; cp. the significant title in Jer. xxiii. 6, "The LORD is our Righteousness." Zedekiah's original name was "Mattaniah" (i.e. "gift of Jehovah"); 2 Kin. xxiv. 17.

his brother] In 2 Kin. (more accurately) "his father's brother"; cp. 1 Chr. iii. 15, 16, notes.

11—19 (= 1 Esd. i. 46—56; cp. 2 Kin. xxiv. 18—xxv. 21; Jer. xxxvii. 1—xxxix. 8, lii. 1—27). REIGN OF ZEDEKIAH. DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

11. *in Jerusalem*] The Chronicler omits, as usual, his mother's name. She was "Hamutal, the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah" (2 Kin. xxiv. 18), and was mother of Jehoahaz also (*ibid.* xxiii. 31). Jehoiakim was by a different mother (*ibid.* ver. 36).

12. *humbled not himself*] Jeremiah consistently advised Zedekiah to submit to the Chaldeans; but the king partly through fear of his princes, partly through illusive hopes, could never bring himself to do so; cp. Jer. xxi. 1—7, xxxiv. 8—22, xxxvii. 1—10, 17, xxxviii. 17—23.

13. *who had made him swear by God*] Cp. Ezek. xvii. 11—19.

14 Moreover all the chiefs of the priests, and the people,
trespassed very greatly after all the abominations of the
heathen; and they polluted the house of the LORD which
15 he had hallowed in Jerusalem. And the LORD, the God of
their fathers, sent to them by his messengers, rising up
early and sending; because he had compassion on his
16 people, and on his dwelling place: but they mocked the
messengers of God, and despised his words, and scoffed at
his prophets, until the wrath of the LORD arose against his
17 people, till there was no [1]remedy. Therefore he brought
upon them the king of the Chaldeans, who slew their
young men with the sword in the house of their sanctuary,
and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old
18 man or ancient: he gave them all into his hand. And all
the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the
treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the
king, and of his princes; all these he brought to Babylon.
19 And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the
wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with

[1] Heb. *healing.*

14. *polluted the house*] Jer. vii. 9—11, xxiii. 11—14; Ezek. viii. 5—16.

15. *rising up early and sending*] The words are absent from 1 Esdras i. 50, and are perhaps a late addition to Chron. derived from Jeremiah; cp. Jer. xxvi. 5. See note on ver. 5 above.

16. *mocked the messengers*] Jeremiah was imprisoned, beaten, and threatened with death, Urijah (Jer. xxvi. 20—23) was put to death. Of the fate of Habakkuk (who probably lived during the Chaldean period, Hab. i. 6) nothing is known.

17. *Chaldeans*] Their name in Hebrew is *Casdim* and in Assyrio-Babylonian *Caldu* (the change of "s" for "l" before a dental is not uncommon in the latter language). They were a people originally living south of Babylon on the sea, but Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadrezzar, conquered Babylon and established a Chaldeo-Babylonian Empire.

in the house of their sanctuary] Cp. Ezekiel's vision of the slaughter; Ezek. ix. 1—11.

18. *all the vessels*] i.e. all the vessels which remained after the previous spoliation (ver. 10). They were perhaps chiefly of brass; cp. 2 Kin. xxv. 13—15.

19. *brake down the wall*] The Heb. verb here used (*nittēç*) implies a more thorough breaking down than the *pāraṣ* of xxv. 23 (see note), xxvi. 6.

fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And 20
them that had escaped from the sword carried he away
to Babylon; and they were servants to him and his sons
until the reign of the kingdom of Persia: to fulfil the word 21
of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah, until the land had
enjoyed her sabbaths: *for* as long as she lay desolate she
kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years.

20, 21 (=1 Esd. i. 57, 58). THE CAPTIVITY.

20 *to him and his sons*] Cp. Jer. xxvii. 7. There were three kings of Babylon after Nebuchadrezzar before Cyrus established Persian rule, viz. Evil-Merodach (Amil-Marduk) (2 Kin. xxv. 27), Neriglissar (Nergalšar-uṣur), and Nabonidus (Nabu-na'id). The last two kings were usurpers. Neriglissar was (it seems) son-in-law to Nebuchadrezzar (Hommel, BABYLONIA in Hastings' *Bible Dict.*, I. 229 a, or Sayce in *Ency. Brit.*[11], III. pp. 105, 106). Whether Nabonidus was connected with the royal house is not known.

21 *by the mouth of Jeremiah*] Cp. Jer. xxv. 11, xxix. 10.

her sabbaths] i.e. years, occurring every seventh year, when the land was to be allowed a respite from cultivation; cp. Lev. xxv. 1—7, xxvi. 34, 35.

threescore and ten years] i.e. two whole generations. It is probable that the Chronicler intended to suggest that the Sabbatical years had been neglected throughout the period (about $490 = 70 \times 7$ years) during which the kingdom lasted; but, if so, he treats the point somewhat loosely, not troubling about the objection that the reigns of the several God-fearing kings (David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat) would need to be subtracted from this total, and that actually the number of violated Sabbatical years would fall considerably below 70.

22, 23 (=Ezra i. 1—3 *a*; 1 Esd. ii. 1—5 *a*). CYRUS DECREES THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

These verses are obviously inappropriate as the conclusion of Chron., and their proper place is as the opening words of the book of Ezra, *where also they are given*. Their exposition properly belongs to the commentaries on Ezra or Esdras, to which accordingly the reader must be referred for fuller notes. These verses were retained here when the separation of Ezra-Nehemiah from Chron. was made (see Introd., § 2), either through mere accident, or perhaps to indicate that Chron. had originally formed one work with Ezra and Nehemiah, but most probably in order to avoid a depressing termination to the book. This last point carries no small weight in view of the fact that in the Hebrew Bible Chron. is the last book. It is interesting to note that to avoid closing the book of Isaiah with the terrible verse (lxvi. 24) which is actually its conclusion, it was customary to repeat after ver. 24 some hopeful words taken from ver. 23. Cp. also the last vv. of 2 Kin.

22 Now in the first year of [1]Cyrus king of Persia, that the
word of the LORD by the mouth of Jeremiah might be
accomplished, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus
king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout
23 all his kingdom, and *put it* also in writing, saying, Thus
saith Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth
hath the LORD, the God of heaven, given me; and he
hath charged me to build him an house in Jerusalem,
which is in Judah. Whosoever there is among you of
all his people, the LORD his God be with him, and let
him go up.

[1] Heb. *Coresh.*

22. *Cyrus king of Persia*] Cyrus, the Persian, was at first king of a small state in Elam, to the east of Babylonia. In 549 B.C. he conquered the king of the Medes, and so became founder of the Medo-Persian Empire. In 546 B.C. he overthrew the famous Croesus, king of Lydia, and advancing against Babylon entered it after a short and easy campaign in 538 B.C.—a career of meteoric brilliance. By his "first year" is meant 537 B.C., his first year as ruler of the Babylonian Empire.

stirred up the spirit] Cp. 1 Chr. v. 26; Haggai i. 14.

made a proclamation] Cp. xxx. 5. The phrase is characteristic of the Chronicler.

23. *All the kingdoms of the earth*] The king of Babylon bore the title of "king of the four quarters of the world." Cyrus succeeded to this title on his conquest of Babylon.

let him go up] i.e. to Jerusalem; cp. Ezra i. 3. Since Chronicles is the last book according to the order of the Hebrew Canon, these encouraging words conclude the Hebrew Bible.

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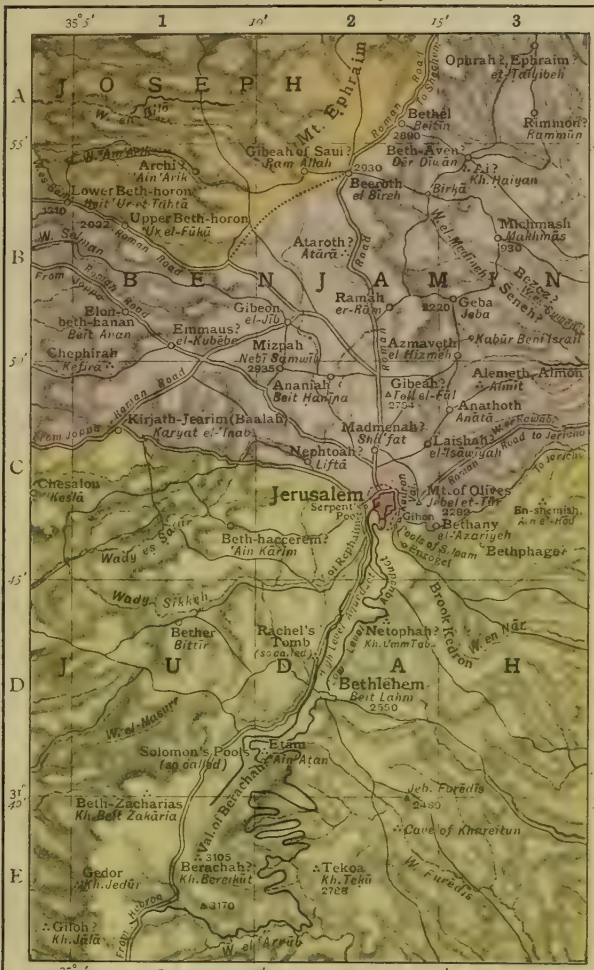
THE ENVIRONS OF JERUSALEM



English Miles

0 ½ 1 2 3 4 5

Wady = Watercourse, generally dry in Summer.

Perennial stream.

Heights in feet = 2480

JERUSALEM
(Ancient)
Scale, 1:18,000

English Feet 0 500 1000 2000 — Mètres 0 100 200 300 400 500

Roman Feet 0 500 1000 2000 — Hebrew Cubits 0 500 1000

Probable line of the walls in the time of Solomon

Additions under late Jewish Kings

(The line of the walls partly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, rebuilt by Nehemiah, is indicated thus):- Nehemiah's Wall

Possible line of Agrippa's north Wall

Area of the modern walled city shaded light red

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